

Papers from the
British Criminology Conference
An Online Journal by the British Society of Criminology

Volume 19, 2019

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Papers from the British Criminology Conference

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2019 Conference, (2-5 July), Public Criminologies: Communities, Conflict and Justice
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Editorial

Lizzie Seal

In 2019, the British Society of Criminology's conference was held from 2-5 July at University of Lincoln, with the title 'Public Criminologies: Communities, Conflict and Justice'. Conference plenaries and keynotes engaged with the necessity to bridge the gap between criminology as an academic discipline and criminology as a public discourse, which can be utilised to further social justice and the collective good. Patrick Williams on Rehumanising the Other, Rob White on Climate Change and Criminology, Sylvia Walby on Theorising Violence and Society and two panels on Activism, Advocacy and Academia and Harm and the Neoliberal University, all of which attested to the potential for criminology to provide 'meaningful reflections on the political realities of community, conflict and justice' (BSC Annual Conference, 2019).

The papers submitted to this volume went through the journal's rigorous peer review process and five out of nine submissions were accepted. Many thanks to the members of the editorial board and the other peer reviewers for doing this work and for engaging carefully with submissions in order to make helpful suggestions for improvement. Thanks also to the authors for their willingness to revise articles to tight timescales. As ever, the timeline for the journal is short and its production would not be possible without this willingness to meet deadlines on the part of reviewers and authors.

Colosi and Lister examine how kink practitioners use the social networking site FetLife to express their sexuality and avoid stigma. They conclude that while FetLife provides kink practitioners with a much-needed online space for managing stigma, it also reinforces their marginalisation from normative sexual identities. Cooper presents the findings from a Health Needs Assessment (HNA) of people convicted of offences living in the community in Derbyshire. The HNA discovered that 'community offenders' face significant barriers in being able to maintain good health and in accessing necessary healthcare, particularly in relation to mental health needs. Healy applies an intersectional analysis to hate crime experienced by disabled people to argue that the 'single strand' approach to understanding hate crime overlooks complexity and diversity. Instead, an approach based on human rights and

the need for cultural change may be better placed to address this complexity. The final two articles reflect on aspects of the current state of British criminology. Stockdale and Sweeney conducted a pilot study on a BA Criminology programme at a post-92 university in order to assess how far the curriculum needs to be decolonised. They found that core modules had fewer key readings by female authors than male, and far fewer by authors of colour than white authors, whether women or men. They present an intersectionality matrix for use in developing more diverse curricula. Finally, Harris, Jones and Squires report on the results of the British Society of Criminology's national survey of criminology teaching and research in the UK. The results highlight the attractiveness of criminology to universities as a discipline that recruits students well and the concomitant pressure this can exert on teaching teams.

In 2020, the British Society of Criminology Conference will take place at University of Liverpool from 7-10 July, with the title 'Criminology in an Age of Global Injustice(s)'. I wish you all a restful and recuperative holiday.

Lizzie Seal, University of Sussex, December 2019

Kinking it up: An exploration of the role of online social networking site FetLife in the stigma management of kink practices

Rachela Colosi and Billie Lister

Abstract

This article draws on the narratives of FetLife users, derived from a study funded by the University of Lincoln. The study highlights two important findings: first, that kink practitioners are cognizant of the deviant label associated with their sexuality, and employ several techniques in order to neutralise and manage the stigma; part of this involves their use of alternative SNS such as FetLife, as they are able to express their sexual identity in a space seen as non-judgemental. Second, that FetLife users acknowledge that they are unable to freely express their sexuality on mainstream SNS, such as Facebook, fearing further stigmatisation; here it was felt that normative sexualities are more tolerated. As it will be discussed, these findings raise important questions relating to how sexualities are policed, and the extent to which online spaces may help to further isolate non-normative sexual practices, potentially exacerbating the stigma.

Key words: kink, policing, sexuality, FetLife, SNS, stigma

Introduction

Increasingly, online social networking sites (SNS) play a significant role in identity work, whereby individuals can construct and play-out different identities, as part of their self-exploration (Albury, 2017). In terms of sexual identity work, mainstream SNS may prove difficult for those with sexual interests that are highly stigmatized, such as

kink (Brickell, 2000; Sarabia and Estenez, 2016). The alternative fetish-based SNS, FetLife, has limited restrictions on sexual expression, providing a platform for individuals to freely interact with others who have an interest in kink. This paper will draw upon the narratives of FetLife users, derived from a pilot study, which used semi-structured interviews to explore the experiences of FetLife users. Fetlife is one of the most popular SNS for the kink community, serving as a platform for platonic and sexual interaction, both online and in person (offline), and as a community organising tool (Fay et al, 2016). As such, Fetlife acts as an important platform for exploring kink free of stigmatization. The term kink is commonly used by fetish practitioners (Bezerha et al, 2012), reflected in the language used by the participants who took part in the study this article is based upon. As a practice, it encompasses a wide range of sexual interests and activities, referred to as 'fetish' and/or Bondage, Domination, Submission, and Masochism (BDSM) (Bezerah et al, 2012; Lin, 2017; Newmahr, 2010; Rehor, 2015; Wignall and McCormack, 2017). Not only does kink refer to non-normative sexual practices, forming part of a person's sexual identity, in line with other sexual minorities such as homosexuals and pansexuals (Brenner, 2005; Dugauy, 2016; Sarabia and Estenez, 2016), but has also been described as 'serious' leisure, in which there is a "devotion to the pursuit of an activity that requires specialized skills and resources, and provides particular benefits" (Newmahr, 2010: 318).

The article will highlight two important findings: first, that kink practitioners are cognizant of the stigma associated with kink, and employ strategies to manage this; part of this involves their use of alternative SNS such as FetLife, as here they can express their sexual identity in a space seen as non-judgemental, and simultaneously cultivate a kink community. In identifying the management of stigma, we draw upon the work of Goffman (1963); here Goffman's work provides a theoretical basis to explain patterns of disclosure of kink practices (via passing techniques) to others, and the formation of online communities (through the creation of norms and values to measure themselves against). Second, that FetLife users acknowledge that they are unable to freely express their sexual interests on mainstream SNS, such as Facebook, fearing further stigmatisation; here it was felt that normative sexual practices (including sexuality) are more tolerated. As it will be argued in this paper, SNS increasingly police non-normative sexualities and sexual practices via formal (SNS policies regarding 'appropriate sexual behaviour' including imagery and speech) and informal (shaming

and disapproval) measures. In reflecting upon these key findings, we suggest that despite the benefits of alternative sites such as FetLife, the stigmatization of kink continues to be a significant concern.

Sexuality and Social Media

Sexuality is ubiquitous online (Brickell, 2000), at its most obvious, this is evident from the significant presence of the pornosphere (McNair, 2013); beyond this, sexual content is apparent in other online spaces, from dating sites to social media (Bricknell, 2000; Houck et al, 2014). Mainstream SNS, such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram provide a platform for people to express their identity, including the expression of sexuality (Albury, 2017; Duguay, 2016; Sarabia and Estenez, 2016). Here the expression of sexuality may only be implicit for some, for example, Brickell (2000) suggests that our “sexualized selves” (p. 31), are evident in profile information, by stating for example that we are interested in ‘men or ‘women’; beyond this profile pictures and status updates are other ways in which the sexualized self is expressed. However, the expressions we find on mainstream SNS are generally normative (Duguay, 2016). The use of ‘selfies’ as part of sexual expression is not an entirely contemporary phenomenon yet remains a significant way of communicating sexuality for some (Albury, 2017; Attwood and Walters, 2013). In relation to this, Sarabia and Estenez (2016) suggest that sexualized behavior is particularly common amongst young social media users, with over 60% of young people documented to post selfies that are considered erotic or sexualized, with further sexualized behavior apparent via private messaging, with some sharing “explicit photos or videos” (p.22). Indeed, sites such as Facebook have been documented as facilitating sexual relationships, with individuals meeting prospective sexual partners through interacting on Facebook (Aziz, 2014; Basile and Linne, 2016). As noted, mainstream SNS are more likely to support the expression of normative, rather than non-normative sexualities, suggesting that the marginalization of sexual minorities extends beyond the physical world into the cyber world (Brickell, 2000, p. 37); for LGBTQ individuals there is a significant fear of being stigmatized by overtly expressing sexuality in mainstream online spaces, with this extending to concerns relating to “safety and privacy” (Duguay, 2016, p895). In response to this, these individuals self-manage posts on mainstream SNS, preferring to restrict expressions of non-normative sexuality to alternative online spaces (Sarabia and Estenez, 2016), or limiting which contacts can see sexualized

posts. Sarabia's and Estenez's (2016), who studied the perceptions of young social media users argue alternative sites such as Tumblr acted as a "retreat" for some of their participants. Here it is important to note that in 2018 Tumblr took a prohibitionist stance to sexual content and restricted sexually explicit posts, stating that:

'Adult content primarily includes photos, videos, or GIFs that show real-life human genitals or female-presenting nipples, and any content—including photos, videos, GIFs and illustrations—that depicts sex acts' (Tumblr.com, 2018).

The management of sexual expression for sexual minorities is not just evident in the self-management of individuals, but in the regulatory power that is exercised more formally on the internet, where sexual content is monitored and, in some cases, blocked (Brenner, 2005). The Facebook 'Terms of Service' and their 'Real Name Policy' potentially, together, restrict sexual representation and increase risk of exposure to sexual minorities (Albury, 2017; Marwick and Boyd, 2011). For example, kink practitioners are at risk of being 'outed' if their group membership, page 'likes', and Facebook searches are made public for others to see (Albury, 2017).

Given the restrictions on mainstream SNS alternative sites such as FetLife are considered safe for those with non-normative sexual interests to express themselves, enabling them to freely engage in identity work (Albury, 2017; Duguay, 2016, McCabe, 2015). Like Facebook, the interaction of the kink community exists on and offline, with some members running offline events, known as 'munches' or more focused events which centre around exploring fetishes with others (Albury, 2017). FetLife itself contains friendship links, relationships, interests, groups, events and blogs; indeed, in this respect there are similarities with other SNS (Albury, 2018; Fay et al, 2016). Research suggests that alternative SNS such as FetLife are more supportive, and less judgemental, for those whose sexual interests are stigmatized (Bezrah et al, 2012; McCabe, 2015), with its popularity evident in the number of users, which is currently over 7 million (FetLife.com, 2019).

Stigma and Sexuality

According to Lin (2017) kink is "Perceived as a deviant sexual practice" and "controlled as a psychological and social problem via several mechanisms, among which medicalization is central" (p.304). Here Lin suggests that the stigmatization of kink

rests upon the medicalization of fetish via the scientific communities, (incl. psychiatry, psychology, and sexology - see Rubin, 1984; Beckman, 2001); this emphasizes the significant influence of biomedical science on the social construction of sexuality (Foucault, 1978). In the US, kink-based practices have been identified as 'paraphilias', and cited as a mental health condition in the 'Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders' (American Psychiatric Association, 2013), resulting in the diagnosis of practitioners as "pathological and at risk" (Wignall and McCormack, 2017: 802). Unlike normative sexual practices kink is positioned as a sexual 'perversion', with negative implications for practitioners (Beckman, 2001; Foucault, 1978). Sex education programmes do not include teachings covering non-normative sexual practices, such as kink, perhaps contributing to the limited understanding about fetish (Bezreh et al, 2012) and reinforcing the stigma (Khan, 2014). Furthermore, as suggested by several studies, there is an acute awareness amongst practitioners of the stigma associated with kink (Bezreh et al, 2012; Lin, 2017; Wright, 2006). Although the deviance associated with kink is appealing to some practitioners (Newmahr, 2010), it nonetheless has wider implications for kinksters. For example, disclosure of sexuality is influenced by stigma and remains a "complex consideration" for kink practitioners (Bezreh et al, 2012: 48). In their study, which explored disclosure decision-making processes of kink practitioners, Bezreh et al (2012) highlight that decisions of disclosure were carefully assessed and 'based on overall evaluation of a person; being seen as judgmental or narrow was sometimes disqualifying' (p. 48). Challenges of disclosure related to revealing sexual interests to family members, such as parents, prospective partners, as well as to colleagues in the workplace; here practitioners showed significant reluctance to disclose their sexual identity if they felt it would jeopardise relationships.

Even where tolerance is shown there is still a clear association made between fetish and violence. Yost (2010) argues there is a misconception that kink practitioners are prone to acting violently or are subjected to violence. The stigmatization of kink is also evident in policy (Califia and Sweeney, 1996); although it is not strictly an illegal practice in England and Wales, there are policies in place which suggest a moral opposition to fetish (Attwood and Smith, 2010; Carline, 2006; Cowen, 2016). There is some evidence that the imagery of kink, produced via advertisements, music videos, and film, has helped to normalize its practice (Marin, 1997). However, kink is

misrepresented, with some negative portrayals depicting it as 'abnormal' (Beckman, 2001; Weiss, 2006: 111). This is evident in the film *Fifty Shades of Grey*, which portrays the main male protagonist, a practitioner of kink, as violent and abusive (Musser, 2015); many members of the kink community choose to distance themselves from this film, as it is argued to reinforce harmful stereotypes about kink (Flood, 2012). Weiss (2006) challenges the representations of fetish, arguing that rather than making kink more acceptable, they enforce 'boundaries between normal, protected, and privileged sexuality, and abnormal, policed, and pathological sexuality' (p.111), thus reinforcing notions of 'normative' and 'non-normative' sexualities and related practices. The stigmatization of kink has significant consequences for practitioners, with individuals commonly experiencing episodes of related anxieties, including feelings of shame and depression (Bezreh et al, 2012).

The Study – An Overview

The findings discussed in this article are based on a small-scale study, which explored FetLife users' experiences¹ with a focus on identity and stigma using semi-structured interviews with 14 participants. Interviews were conducted face-to-face using Skype, or via telephone, recorded and thematically analysed using NVivo. Thematic analysis was used to code because of its flexibility and offered an accessible form of analysis for interpretation of the themes of interest (Walter, 2013; Braun & Clarke, 2006). As well as recruiting participants from FetLife, a fetish-based Facebook group page² was used in order to reach kink practitioners and provide information about the study; all the participants were either active on FetLife or had previously used this platform. The majority of participants were male (10), and the remaining female (4) – none of the participants identified as trans or non-binary; the ages ranged from 24-63. The sexuality of participants varied; only two participants described themselves as heterosexual, three as bisexual, and the remaining nine described their sexuality as 'complicated', polyamorous, or pansexual. All the participants described themselves as having some form of sexual interest in kink and identified this as a central part to their overall sexuality.

¹ This study was funded by Social Science College Research Fund, University of Lincoln, and was approved by the University of Lincoln Ethics Committee.

² The use of Facebook to recruit participants was important as it enabled us to reach a population of FetLife users who also engaged with mainstream SNS.

The Experience of Stigma

The findings of this study indicated that all the participants were aware of the stigma associated with kink and could offer examples of how it had affected them, suggested in the wider literature (Bezrah et al, 2012; Lin, 2017; Wright, 2006). In discussing the stigma, Jen³ stated:

we are perceived as the wrong ones; we are perceived as the ones that are a bit dirty and a bit wrong, and a little bit seedy, when in actual fact what we do doesn't hurt anybody and is purely consensual. We are stigmatised for it.

Several participants described how they were often perceived as “promiscuous” and/or “perverted” – this term was used to describe the perceptions of non-kink practitioners by almost all the participants in the study. In relation to the association with ‘perversion’, here one participant suggested that kink is sometimes mistakenly connected to paedophilia. Peter: *‘Most times people are very judgmental. If you go worst case scenario they go – Oh, you are a pervert, you are into rubber, and you probably shag kids!’*. Although this concern was not expressed by other participants it is nonetheless indicative of the deviant association, and perhaps the medicalization, of kink practices. However, the extent to which kink practices are stigmatized was found to relate to the type of fetish being practised, with some forms more tolerated than others. Many of the participants agreed that outside of the kink community, practices described as ‘vanilla’ by kink practitioners (Lin, 2018), which might include light spanking, were less stigmatized. This is reflected in the sale of related merchandise in high street retailers such as Ann Summers’, as well as the kink practices portrayed in the film *Fifty Shades of Grey*. One of the participants, John, reflected upon this:

I think certain types of kink have become more normalised with films like Fifty Shades of Grey; certain types of kink have become, not the norm, but more acceptable to talk about, if that makes sense.

He continues to identify that other forms of kink might be more deviant and further stigmatised: *‘whereas anything anal, I’d say, or to do with body fluids, I think there will always be a stigma towards that....because it’s kind of dirty, isn’t it?’*. What is also

³ Pseudonyms have been used to protect the identity of participants.

interesting here is the context of John's assertion - not only did he acknowledge that some forms of kink might be considered 'dirty', but he also indicated his acceptance of the deviant association, by proposing the question: 'because it's kind of dirty isn't it?'. This suggests that different types of kink are stigmatized within the kink community, as well as outside of it; it is important to note here that John described himself as heterosexual, which may be why he identifies 'anal' as an example of a practice seen as 'dirty'. Furthermore, this suggests that kink is heterogeneous, with multiple interests and practices (Hughes and Hammock, 2019). As indicated in the wider literature (see Barker, 2013), participants identified that the stigma associated with kink was due to misinformation and a limited understanding about consent, acknowledged here by Andy:

...you are giving somebody power; giving somebody, in a way, the right to hurt you, with your consent; and of course that is a big taboo: people don't understand that. If people hear that you are into kink, people will assume at that point that it just means you get beaten black and blue. It's so not that.

Moreover, the effects of the stigma associated with kink are evident in different ways. For example, some of the participants discussed how it had impacted upon romantic relationships (also see Bezrah et al, 2012). Finn stated:

When I was going out with a girlfriend a few years ago, when she found out I was into a lot of fetish things, that was it; the relationship was over when that happened; and I remember before it all came out, whenever she'd see someone who was in a latex outfit or anything like that, she'd have a sneering attitude and anger towards stuff like that".

In response to the stigma of kink, some participants made attempts to challenge the stereotypes associated with it, arguing that transparency about all sexual practices was important. For example, for Amy the 'visibility' of kink was significant to the process of normalisation:

You have things like Pride which helps the community come out from the shadows and be more visible. Pride encompasses more than just LGBT, these days: it's all manner of different sexual identities; kink being one of them. That is one way I suppose. I think just increasing visibility really. It is a very difficult thing to do.

In general, most participants suggested that the process of normalising kink was not straightforward. For instance, despite some participants suggesting that *Fifty Shades of Grey* has helped to normalise 'vanilla' kink practices, for many participants it has been damaging, misrepresenting fetish (also see Flood, 2012; Musser 2015). This was indicated by Tina:

Int: *Do you think people would have different perceptions depending on what the kink is?*

Tina: *Those that don't know about FetLife, always go back to Fifty Shades of Grey; which you try to explain to them, that it's not really like that. They won't listen...I think you have to start with the soft-core stuff to explain. If you went straight in with the needle play, they'd freak out...*

Unfortunately, this stigmatization of kink means that practitioners are restricted in online spaces where they can safely express themselves, exacerbated by the erosion of platforms such as Tumblr. One of the participants, Finn, even suggested that many mainstream SNS continue to reject kink, stating *'there is a stigma towards fetish and stuff. With the Tumblr ban that came into effect; with general other sites looking further down their noses at kink'*. In response to the stigma associated with kink, many of the participants found different ways to manage it, with findings suggesting that the use of alternative sites, such as FetLife, play a significant role in the stigma management of fetish.

Online Stigma Management Strategies

As well evidencing the stigma associated with fetish, the findings suggest that kink practitioners engage in several stigma management strategies. The work of Goffman (1963) is used to explore these strategies. According to Goffman, those who are stigmatised engage with three strategies: first, by creating their own social norms and

values to measure themselves against; second, by rejecting the community that supports the stigmatised norms; and/or third, by employing passing techniques, such as 'dividing up social worlds'. In their attempt to manage the stigma associated with kink, participants engaged with the first and third techniques.

The first technique is suggested in the participants' use of alternative SNS such as FetLife. Participants identified that FetLife, and to some extent Tumblr - prior to the 2018 sexual content restrictions, had provided a space to form communities⁴. Furthermore, FetLife was identified as an important platform where information about kink is freely exchanged, proving a safe space with limited judgement placed on kink practitioners. This was indicated by Mark and Amy:

Int: *How important would you say sites like FetLife are for kink communities?*

Mark: *"Very. I think they are now because the taboo is still connected to it; so therefore we can't discuss the normal things on social media; so we need to have our own outlet for it."*

Amy: *"I think FetLife is a good website for people who want to develop their knowledge of the subject or develop their own kinks. I found it very useful in developing certain things or finding advice."*

For John, FetLife served his needs in many ways, but importantly addressed the feelings of isolation that could be felt within the company of non-kink practitioners:

John: *It is (FetLife) a really good way of connecting with like-minded people who you can talk to about this stuff in a non-judgemental way. It is a very difficult thing to talk about to people in real life...As a person who is kinky, I think sometimes you can feel quite isolated, and it's like 'the weirdo in the bunch', and I think it is really important that people don't think they are alone; and that there is support out there; and people can reach out for support if they need it.*

Likewise, other participants such as Jen have been able to make friendships, extending into offline relationships:

Jen: *"I formed quite a few friendships going to munches organised through FetLife. I went to one last night. I met some really lovely people; and because*

⁴ Interviews were conducted prior to and following the sexual content restrictions imposed by Tumblr.

the munches are organised through FetLife. I am then able to keep in touch with those people between the munches through websites”

Here Mike highlighted the importance of FetLife to those who were new to the scene:

Int: *Do you think it’s important for maybe people starting out, who have just got into some kind of kink, do you think it might be a useful way to kind of express their sexual identity to other people?*

Mike: *Yes, I think it’s tremendously useful for that; not only is it a safe place to express almost any sort of sexual interest or identity, you can get discussion groups on there that are genuinely educational; also it gives you access to your local area, so people can find their local munch or their local rope workshops. That is how you meet a lot of people*

Furthermore, participants acknowledged that FetLife was open to different kink practices, making it possible for kink subgroups to emerge. This was suggested by Gary: *“Yes, definitely different cliques and social tribes that don’t seem to interact so much with each other”*. Amy also explained how she could continually update her profile, providing an opportunity to *“draw the right people towards you”*. In this respect, one of the participants Lyndsey, who described himself as a ‘living doll’, was able to make connections with others on FetLife with similar interests. Another participant Wylf, who engaged with ‘pet play’, like Lyndsey, cited the importance of been able to communicate directly with people who shared similar sexual interests. As Amy highlights, kink communities within FetLife are not just about sexual gratification:

my impression of the community is that it is so much more caring and kind-spirited than I ever would have imagined. It is not all about people just wanting to get on and fuck each other; there is so much more to it than that. There is a real, deeply engrained culture of looking out for each other

In facilitating face-to-face and online encounters, FetLife enables each kink practitioner to feel part of a unique fetish community. In this sense, we can see how different FetLife users are able to customise their own kink community subgroup based on their sexual interests. Here it is possible to identify how kink embodies ‘serious leisure’ (see Newmahr, 2010); moreover, as suggested through practitioners’ use of FetLife, their subcultural dedication is emphasised (Newmahr, 2010).

The second strategy employed by participants relates to 'dividing up social worlds' (Goffman, 1963). In these instances, participants were careful about who they disclosed their practices to; sexual interests may be concealed from family members, but not necessarily from close friends or other kink practitioners (see Bezrah et al, 2012; Duguay, 2016). Amongst participants it was apparent that many kept their 'kink' life and 'regular' life separate, as highlighted below:

Gary: *I kind of realised a few years ago, that I don't need to proclaim to everybody that I am doing this or that today. At the moment, with my family, they don't really need to know....*

Int: *You would openly discuss it (kink) with anybody?*

Jen: *Not with anybody; with good friends or people I can trust. I wouldn't just tell anybody; especially with my line of work. That could be used against me... (emphasis added)*

Mark: *You don't know when and where your information is being shared or used. There are so many people on Facebook. You don't know who is watching or what is going on.*

Jen's belief that the knowledge of her interest in kink could be used against her professionally is again indicative of the widespread social disdain that continues to marginalise kink practitioners. This is emphasised by Mark, who cited a lack of trust pertaining to mainstream SNS, such as Facebook, and feared his interest in kink could be exposed.

Both strategies of stigma management enable kink practitioners to manage the stigma associated with kink. Although these techniques were clearly practiced on and offline, the first strategy, through which practitioners create their own norms and values, is particularly significant as it was predominantly practiced through online sites such as FetLife, having less significance in offline spaces. For some of the participants, communication with fellow kink practitioners was limited only to FetLife.

Online Policing of Sexualities

The findings suggest that SNS can be used to police sexual boundaries, helping to promote normative sexualities and further marginalise non-normative sexualities (see

Duguay, 2016). This is achieved through informal and formal control measures, for example, informally through disapproval and shaming (by other users) directed at users who choose to talk about non-normative sexual interests. Formally, SNS such as Facebook and Tumblr have made steps to prohibit what they consider unacceptable sexual content; this is significant in the policing of sexuality (Brenner, 2005). The policing of non-normative sexualities (including sexual practices) stems from the stigma associated with it, and simultaneously helps to reinforce and exacerbate the deviant label (See Duguay, 2016; Brenner, 2005). Formal control of sexualities on SNS, such as Facebook, (see 'Community Standards' on Facebook.com), is enforced through sex policies listed under 'Adult nudity and sexual activity', 'Sexual solicitation', and 'Sexual Exploitation of Adults' (Facebook.com, 2019). Although there are several Fetish Groups and Pages on Facebook, there are restrictions on what can be posted, thus many of the participants in this study preferred to use private messenger to communicate when discussing kink. Facebook's policy on nudity, despite claiming to have become 'nuanced over time' (Facebook.com, 2019), continues to limit posts by kink practitioners, for example, in instances where clothing might show nipples. This was discussed by one of the participants, highlighted below:

Peter: *What is the problem? People I know get photos banned on Facebook – You can't show nipples. Well they will put something a bit close, and it gets banned; especially latex designers. It could be a bit of cleavage, and that will get banned because obviously it's sexual if they are wearing latex.*

Furthermore, although it could be argued that Facebook has become sex phobic, more generally, it clearly highlights kink practises as an area of potential concern, stating 'fetish scenarios' risk containing inappropriate content if they are 'implicitly or indirectly offering or asking for solicitation in order to be deemed violating' (Facebook.com, 2019). Furthermore, given that most of its sex policies are vague, as well as potentially discriminatory, clear limitations are forced upon kink practitioners

to freely express their sexual interests. Policies can also be interpreted widely, giving Facebook enhanced control over exactly what can and cannot be posted.

As highlighted earlier, Tumblr's classification of what constitutes sexually explicit content, like Facebook's policy, is again rather broad and subject to interpretation. Kink practitioners voiced their concerns in the lead up to the sexual content restrictions on Tumblr. At the time this study was conducted Tumblr was used alongside FetLife by many of the participants. One of the participants Finn identified it as central to the kink online community: *'it was a place to express yourself – anything goes; as long as you were keeping an eye on under 18 year old people, it was fine. It was a big part of the community.'* For Rebecca, another participant, embracing her fetish side was inconvenienced by changes to Tumblr. Indeed, she noted that Tumblr's stance may also disrupt the community as they are forced to migrate to another platform:

I know it (Tumblr's censoring of adult content) has made things a lot harder for me; so it has probably made it harder for other people, and for people quite established because Tumblr has been going for donkey's years. There are a lot of established people on there, and for them to have to pick up and shift. I can imagine it has impacted quite a few people.

In response to restrictions on content, participants felt apprehensive about the future of other platforms:

Finn: *'You never know when the next Tumblr is going to happen. You never know when it's going to be.'*

One of the participants, Peter, who had encountered problems posting on Facebook, acknowledged that the sexual content restrictions on Tumblr could have implications for his latex clothing business:

The ban might affect me: I work in latex, and you have different levels: you have dressing up where you either look really cool, so you are going to parties or nightclubs wearing it; people even wear it to normal nightclubs these days to

shock everyone. Then you have the other end of bedroom clothing that is very much about feel; but if they bring a ban they'll just go – Right that's latex; sexual clothing.

Therefore, such restrictions not only have the potential to impact upon people's freedom of sexual expression but in some cases may impact upon their income where business is affected. Alongside the formal policing methods identified through the rules imposed by online sites, informally users of SNS can help control sexual expression (Duguay, 2016). Here we see a process of 'othering', which kink practitioners are subjected to both on and offline (Lin, 2018). For example, in this study participants reflected upon how the anticipated reactions of others continued to shape their online behaviours relating to disclosure of sexual interests in fear of being ridiculed and further stigmatized. It is important to note participants did not cite examples of being shamed on SNS, but felt that they *would* be judged if they did post about their sexual interests. Here Jen reflects upon how she is careful about disclosing such details on Facebook:

I filter what I post on Facebook. FetLife I don't filter. FetLife, I'll post anything. I don't care within reason. Facebook, I tend to have to filter (general interaction, not necessarily re fetish). I have friends and family on there who don't have an idea what I get up to.

This sentiment was reinforced by Finn, who confirmed '*I wouldn't talk (openly) about my sexuality (on Facebook). I don't know anyone who does*'. The anticipation of disapproval from other users regarding the sexualised posts of kink practitioners was acknowledged by other participants, demonstrated in the following extract:

Interviewer: *Why wouldn't you talk about your sexual interests on Facebook?*

Lyndsey: *I don't think people would appreciate hearing about that. I don't think that is why people go on Facebook. I think it would make people uncomfortable. I just don't think it is appropriate really.*

The notion that discussing sexual identity on mainstream SNS, such as Facebook, is inappropriate appears to be directed at those who practice non-normative sexualities more widely, with existing literature supporting these findings (see Duguay, 2016; Sarabia and Estenez, 2016). Alongside the use of the different SNS sex policies, which elicit a more formal measure of control, informal control as demonstrated through the anticipated disapproval of posts expressing non-normative sexual identities helps to police sexuality more widely, simultaneously promoting normative sexuality as superior. Furthermore, the online policing of sexuality, alongside offline measures of social control, continues to marginalise non-normative sexual identities, with kink at the center of this process.

Conclusion

The study indicates that practitioners of kink are subjected to, and aware of, the stigma associated with fetish, which has been shown to influence their lives in different ways. By focussing on the use of SNS, such as FetLife, Tumblr, and Facebook, it has been possible to identify how this stigmatization influences the *online* behaviours of kink practitioners. Evidence from this study suggests that mainstream SNS, such as Facebook, offer limited opportunities for kink practitioners to explore and express their sexual identities. Both formal and informal methods of policing are apparent across mainstream (Facebook) and alternative (Tumblr) SNS inhibiting sexual expression, with participants always anticipating further stigmatization. The findings of this study indicate that mainstream SNS are hostile to non-normative sexual practices, as suggested in some of the SNS policies, and that this is compounded by wider online social hostility directed towards kink, anticipated through disapproval. Thus, sites such as Fetlife have created important spaces for open interactions relating to fetish, allowing kink practitioners to feel 'safe' and accepted in a non-judgmental online environment, forming some level of resistance against stigmatization. Furthermore, in attempts to neutralise the stigma of kink, FetLife provides a space for kink practitioners to cultivate a set of unique kink communities specific to their sexual interests, leading to the creation of their own norms and values against which they can be measured (see Goffman, 1963). Importantly, the use of FetLife did not necessarily extend into offline interactions; although this was not the case for all participants, it was evident that FetLife online communities could exist entirely on this platform without leaving the virtual world. Despite the benefits of sites such as FetLife for kink practitioners, the

policing of sexualities in online spaces, alongside the stigma management strategies employed by kink practitioners, may only help to further isolate non-normative sexualities as the 'other'. As kink practitioners are increasingly forced to engage with alternative online spaces, they risk facing further stigmatization and marginalization. In response to this, existing SNS policies need to be revisited and challenged with the view to making them more inclusive for all sexual identities.

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Assessing the Health Needs of Offenders Residing in the Community: a mixed-methods approach to reducing criminal behaviour

Cooper, R.⁵

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Abstract

It is well known that criminal justice issues and health needs are clearly interwoven (Keay, 2014). However, despite this there is very little published evidence on the health needs of offenders in community settings. In 2017 – 2018, a health needs assessment (HNA) was undertaken in Derbyshire to explore the needs of community

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offenders and to identify the barriers they experience in accessing health and social care. This article summarises its key findings, knowledge of which have the potential to improve the understanding of the health needs of community offenders, and ensure that these are adequately addressed. This is an important part of the prevention of further offending (Ministry of Justice Analytical Series, 2013), benefitting not only the individuals at risk of offending or reoffending, but also their families, communities and the wider society.

Key Words:

Health Needs, Community Offenders, Desistance

Introduction

In 2013 'The Balancing Act' (Revolving Doors Agency, 2013) was published, which seeks to highlight the health inequalities experienced by people in contact with the criminal justice system. Revolving Doors Agency have a vision that by 2025 no-one will be stuck in the revolving door of crisis and crime and anyone with multiple problems and poor mental health will be supported to reach their full potential (Revolving Doors Agency, 2016). Although criminal justice issues and public health are widely acknowledged to be interwoven (Keay, 2014), very little has been published about the health profile and needs of offenders in community settings. To explore the needs of this group in the community and identify the barriers they experience in accessing health and social care, a health needs assessment (HNA) was undertaken between 2017 and 2018, in Derbyshire (including the City of Derby), UK. This article summarises the methodological approach taken to the HNA and its key findings.

Literature review

A comprehensive literature search revealed that, whilst the evidence base exploring the mortality of offenders in prison is large, few studies explicitly consider the mortality of offenders in the community (Satter, 2001). Given that until recently there was a requirement for offenders to serve the majority of their sentences whilst incarcerated (Parliament UK, 2014), it is possibly unsurprising that the limited existing literature reveals the substance misuse, physical and mental health needs of offenders serving their sentences in the community more closely resemble those of incarcerated offenders than those of the general population (Brooker et al., 2008). However, although these two offender groups may have similar needs, their access to services differs, with those in the community expected to largely access the same services, and in the same way, as the general population.

Although there is a paucity of published literature exploring the health of community offenders (Sattar, 2001), evidence shows their rate of mortality is extremely high (Ministry of Justice, 2018). We can infer this group experiences a high prevalence of health problems (Brooker, 2008). The wider determinants of health, such as social, economic and environmental factors are recognised influences on health and wellbeing (Public Health England, 2018). The community offender population are reported to experience significant co-morbidities such as poor physical and mental health and substance misuse problems, often complicated by social issues such as unemployment, indebtedness, homelessness or social isolation (Revolving Doors Agency, 2013; Seymour, 2010).

There are no specialist health services routinely commissioned for offenders in the community in England, (Northamptonshire County Council, 2014). Community offenders' difficulties accessing health care services have been attributed to their chaotic lifestyle and communication challenges (Ebberson, 2015). It is known that they are unlikely to proactively engage with health services (Northamptonshire County Council, 2014) and instead are more likely to over-use crisis services (Brooker et al., 2008). To date, not only is there a lack of evidence relating to the health needs of community offenders, there is also little information to show whether existing services are protecting or improving the health of the community offender population.

There is a well-documented link between offending behaviour and substance misuse (Pierce et al., 2015). Although crime is not an inevitable result of problematic drug use and alcohol consumption, there is a certain association between the two; a large percentage of acquisitive crime (such as shoplifting and burglary) can be attributed to problem drug users (NTA, 2009). Nearly 50% of violent crime (violence, injury and victimisation, domestic violence and sexual assault) victims report the perpetrator to have been under the influence of alcohol at the time (Prison Reform Trust, 2004).

Health Needs Assessment

A Health Needs Assessment (HNA) is a systematic process for assessing the health problems facing a particular population (NICE, 2017). In the HNA discussed in this article, the population of interest was community offenders residing in Derbyshire. Community offenders are offenders who have been sentenced at either a magistrates or Crown Court, and are either: on suspended sentences, serving their

sentences in the community or are on licence having served the first part of their sentence in prison. Care pathways for offenders being released from prison into the community were considered, although offenders in prison or police custody units were excluded due to them having different access to health services than that of community offenders.

Methodology

To capture both quantitative and qualitative data on the health and wellbeing of community offenders in Derbyshire, this HNA employed a mixed methodology. This methodology was adapted from the Stevens and Raftery model (1994), the gold standard model for HNA, which describes three approaches: epidemiological, comparative and corporate. For this HNA, the epidemiological approach included assessment of morbidity (disease incidence) and mortality (death rate) amongst community offenders in Derbyshire. The comparative needs assessment compared morbidity amongst Derbyshire's community offenders to that in the general population of Derbyshire and other areas of England. The corporate needs assessment gathered qualitative evidence from key stakeholders (community offenders and relevant probation and healthcare professionals). All three approaches were underpinned by a comprehensive literature review.

Quantitative methodology

A questionnaire was developed in consultation with a steering group made up of representatives from the local authority's Public Health and Community Safety Departments and the Criminal Justice Board. The content of the questionnaire was also informed by the health needs of offenders as identified from the literature and

previous offender HNAs carried out in other districts (Brooker et al., 2008; Ebberson, 2015; Firth, 2014). The questionnaire was designed to collect data on the demography, lifestyle, mental and physical health of respondents. Information was also collected on:

- Which services offenders required, both whilst serving an entire community sentence and following release from prison;
- How easy offenders found it to access services;
- Their opinion of the care provided to them, in terms of usefulness and satisfaction.

Following an initial pilot, 320 questionnaires were sent to the local branches of the Community Rehabilitation Company (CRC – a private sector supplier of probation and prison-based rehabilitative services), National Probation Service (NPS) and the Youth Offending Service (YOS). Case workers were provided with information sheets and consent forms for potential participants and also with instructions on how to administer the survey to community offenders under their supervision. Community offenders were sampled using convenience sampling, a non-randomised method for selecting participants deemed appropriate for overcoming the challenges inherent in recruiting participants from this hard to reach population. Consent forms were detached from the questionnaire, and respondents were provided with a sealable envelope, which was returned to the local authority, where the information was manually transferred to electronic media and analysed in Excel. For context, each service (CRC, NPS and YOS) also provided anonymised demographic data on their current service user population.

Qualitative methodology

Qualitative data on community offenders' views and perspectives on their health, health needs and current services were collected via semi-structured interviews with nineteen community offenders, recruited using convenience sampling. Due to difficulties in recruiting young offenders for interview, (the Youth Offending Service failed to recruit any interviewees, although reasons for this are unknown), only the views of those aged over 18 years old were included in the qualitative element of the HNA. Interviews were carried out by CRC and NPS staff; an external interviewer was not used as community offenders are traditionally a difficult to engage group and it was felt that using someone with existing rapport as an interviewer would be more likely to facilitate more in-depth conversation and therefore hold greater potential to give them voice. Interviewers were provided with an interview topic guide and a proforma for recording the responses of each participant. A semi-structured interview guide was used to guide the interviewer and enable them to explore issues brought forward by the interviewee. Power dimensions of the interview situation (in particular using a probation professional as the interviewer) were assessed. To overcome this, the probation professional took the time to explain the interview's purpose to the community offender and gave them a chance to ask any questions. Additionally, community offenders were offered the chance to provide their views and perceptions anonymously in a questionnaire, for which they were provided with an envelope they could seal and assurance this would remain sealed until returned to the Local Authority.

Information about existing service provision and potential areas for improvement were captured using an online survey from 49 health care professionals and offender

case workers employed by CRC, NPS, YOS and the National Health Service (NHS).

Participants were again recruited using convenience sampling.

The professionals were asked for their views on five main topics:

- Health issues experienced by offenders;
- Offenders' access to health services;
- Health issues offenders do not seek help for;
- Reasons for offenders not seeking help; and
- How services could be improved.

All interviews were transcribed verbatim by a local authority employee in preparation for analysis. Thematic analysis was used to uncover common themes, underlying assumptions and patterns from the responses to the offender interviews and the online survey of professionals. To address bias and improve validity, the identified themes were reviewed by a member of the steering group; no major discrepancies were found.

Results

This HNA brought together information about the health and health needs of Derbyshire's community offenders, the services available to them and the difficulties they experienced in accessing them. Full details of the results can be found in 'A health needs assessment of offenders in the community; Derbyshire and Derby City' (Cooper, R., 2017): the key findings are summarised below.

Quantitative Results

Quantitative information collected from 166 community offenders was analysed in Excel. For the purposes of this HNA, where appropriate, missing responses have

been excluded from the denominator for individual questions. Therefore, it should be noted that the denominators for each calculation may differ between questions.

Analysis of the demographic data collected provided an understanding of the age and gender profiles of the community offender population in Derbyshire. Although there were very small numbers in every age group, Figure 1 shows that the majority of offenders (64.5%) were aged 15 to 39 years. The age profile of community offenders is much younger overall than that of Derbyshire's general population (Figure 2).

Figure 1: Age of respondents, by gender

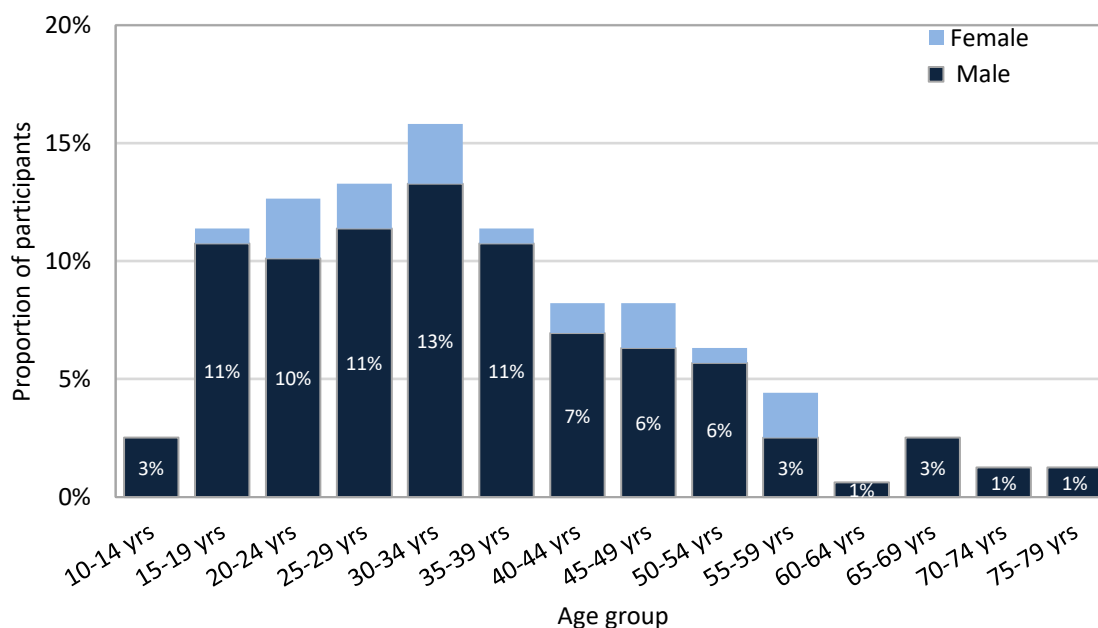
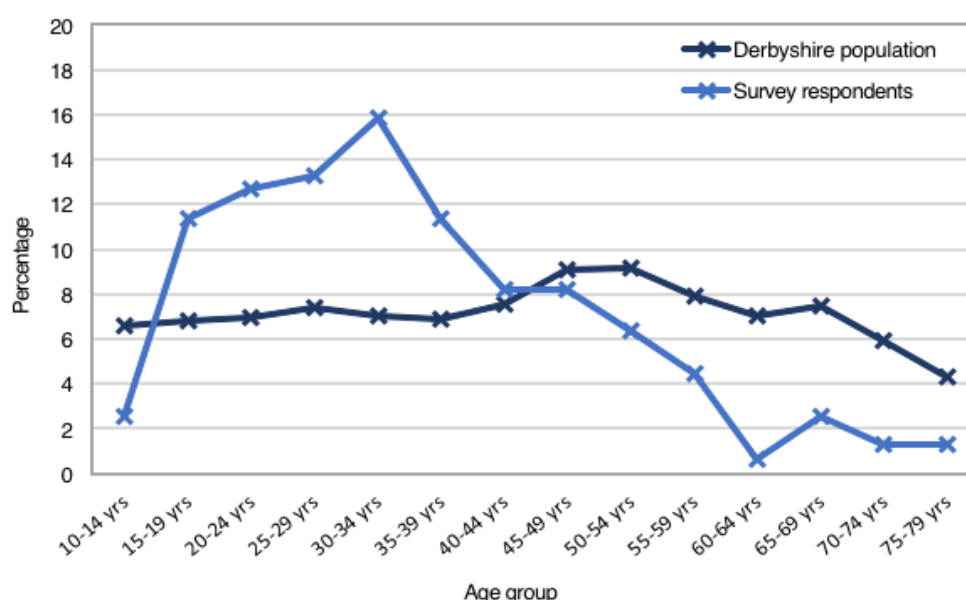


Figure 2: Age profiles - Respondents compared to the Derbyshire population



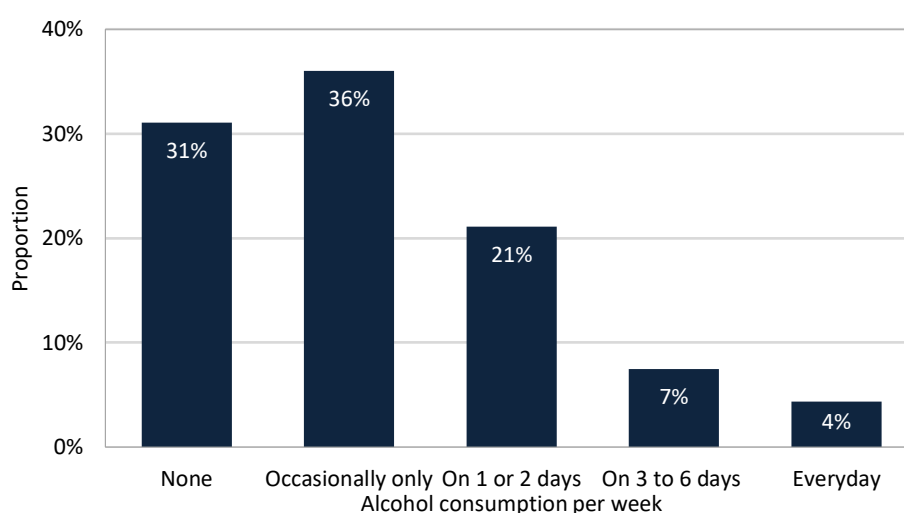
The ethnic origins of respondents broadly reflected those of Derbyshire's general population. Respondents were asked whether they smoked cigarettes or tobacco and if so, how many cigarettes they smoked per day. Of the 159 respondents that responded, 63.5% described themselves as smokers.

This is a much higher proportion than was seen regionally (16.1%) or nationally (15.5%) in 2016 (Public Health England, 2017). The majority of offenders who were smokers were under the age 35; 29.2% were aged 15 to 24 and 34.4% were aged 25 to 34. To assess the quality of their diet, respondents were asked how many portions of fruit or vegetables they ate in a normal day: 9.4% stated that they ate the recommended 5 or more; 76.1% ate between 1 and 4 portions of fruit or vegetables a day and 14.5% reported consuming no fruit or vegetables daily. These results are much lower than those reported for the general population by the Health Survey for England 2015 (NHS Digital, 2016) which found that 26% of the population consumed 5 or more portions daily and only 7% consumed no fruit or vegetables. Survey participants were also asked about their physical activity. Regular exercise, defined

as doing 30 minutes of exercise sufficient to cause shortness of breath, on 5 or more days of the week, was reported by 22.8% of respondents; this is lower than the national average of 65% reported in the 2011 Census (Office for National Statistics (ONS), 2012). However, the proportion of respondents who reported that they did not achieve 30 minutes of exercise on any day of the week was similar to the 22% reported nationally (ONS, 2012).

The survey asked offenders about the number of drinks containing alcohol they consumed per day and their frequency of drinking per week. Alcohol consumption was reported by 68.9% of respondents; their stated levels of consumption are shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Frequency of alcohol consumption



Of the 31.1% who said that they abstained from drinking alcohol, 13 reported they were currently receiving help to reduce their alcohol consumption. Of those who reported consuming alcohol, 74.5% respondents provided information on the number of drinks containing alcohol that they consumed on the days that they drank (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Alcohol consumption, by frequency of drinking

Number of drinks containing alcohol consumed	Frequency of alcohol consumption										Total	
	I don't drink alcohol		I only drink alcohol occasionally		1 or 2 days a week		3 to 6 days a week		Everyday			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-2 drinks	8	6.7%	26	21.7%	7	5.8%	4	3.3%	1	0.8%	46	38.3%
3-5 drinks	3	2.5%	12	10.0%	15	12.5%	8	6.7%	5	4.2%	43	35.8%
6-9 drinks		0.0%	9	7.5%	4	3.3%		0.0%	1	0.8%	14	11.7%
10 or more drinks		0.0%	9	7.5%	8	6.7%		0.0%		0.0%	17	14.2%

It was noted that 11 of the respondents who stated that they did not drink alcohol also reported a level of alcohol consumption; for 8 this was 1-2 drinks and for 3 it was 3-5 drinks. It is possible this reflects known problems with the under reporting of alcohol consumption in surveys (Stockwell et al., 2016).

Unfortunately, this survey did not collect any information from which to gauge the number of units, or the strength of the alcohol consumed. Therefore, to obtain upper and lower levels of alcohol consumption per week for each respondent, conservative estimates for alcohol consumption were calculated by applying the assumption that one reported drink contained 1.5 units of alcohol. Comparing these results to the 2016 guidelines on alcohol consumption (Chief Medical Officer, 2016) suggests that, if the lower limits of the estimates are accepted, 78.0% of respondents may be drinking at low risk levels. Consuming up to 14 units of alcohol per week is considered to be 'low risk', but drinking above this level is regarded as being at 'increased risk'. The more alcohol consumed above the 14 unit threshold, the higher the risk.

Applying these guidelines to the estimated alcohol consumption of respondents suggests that, if the lower limits of the estimates are accepted, 78.0% (85 of 109) of

respondents are drinking at low risk levels and only 22% are drinking at high risk levels. However, if the upper limits of the estimate are applied, the proportion drinking at low risk levels falls to 49.5% (54 of 109). It is therefore possible that up to 50.5% (55 of 109) of the cohort are drinking at high risk levels, putting them at increased risk from their levels of alcohol consumption. Alcohol consumption estimates also revealed that around one third (33.0%) of the cohort had patterns of alcohol consumption that strongly suggested binge drinking, with 15 to 30 units consumed on each occasion. The pattern of alcohol consumption for a further 5.5% could be as much as 50 units or more per week, putting them at very high risk of the sequelae of alcohol misuse.

In this survey, 63.5% of offenders reported that they had used illegal drugs (Figure 5). Cannabis was by far the most commonly used drug reported by respondents, followed by cocaine and amphetamines.

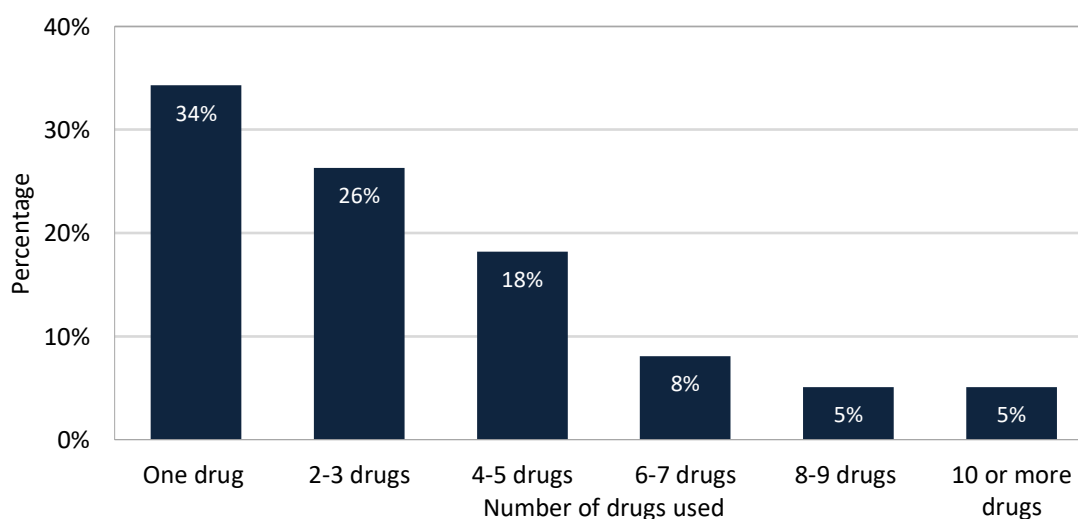
Figure 5: Illegal substances used by respondents

Substance	Number of respondents	Percentage
Cannabis	78	78.8%
Cocaine	55	55.6%
Amphetamine	38	38.4%
Ecstasy	33	33.3%
Heroin	25	25.3%
LSD	22	22.2%

Magic Mushrooms	22	22.2%
Crack	20	20.2%
Solvents / gas / aerosols	13	13.1%
Novel psychoactive substances	13	13.1%
Other drugs	6	6.1%

The majority of respondents who used illegal drugs reported multi-drug use, with nearly 1 in 5 using 6 or more different substances. Figure 6 shows the number and frequency of drug use amongst respondents.

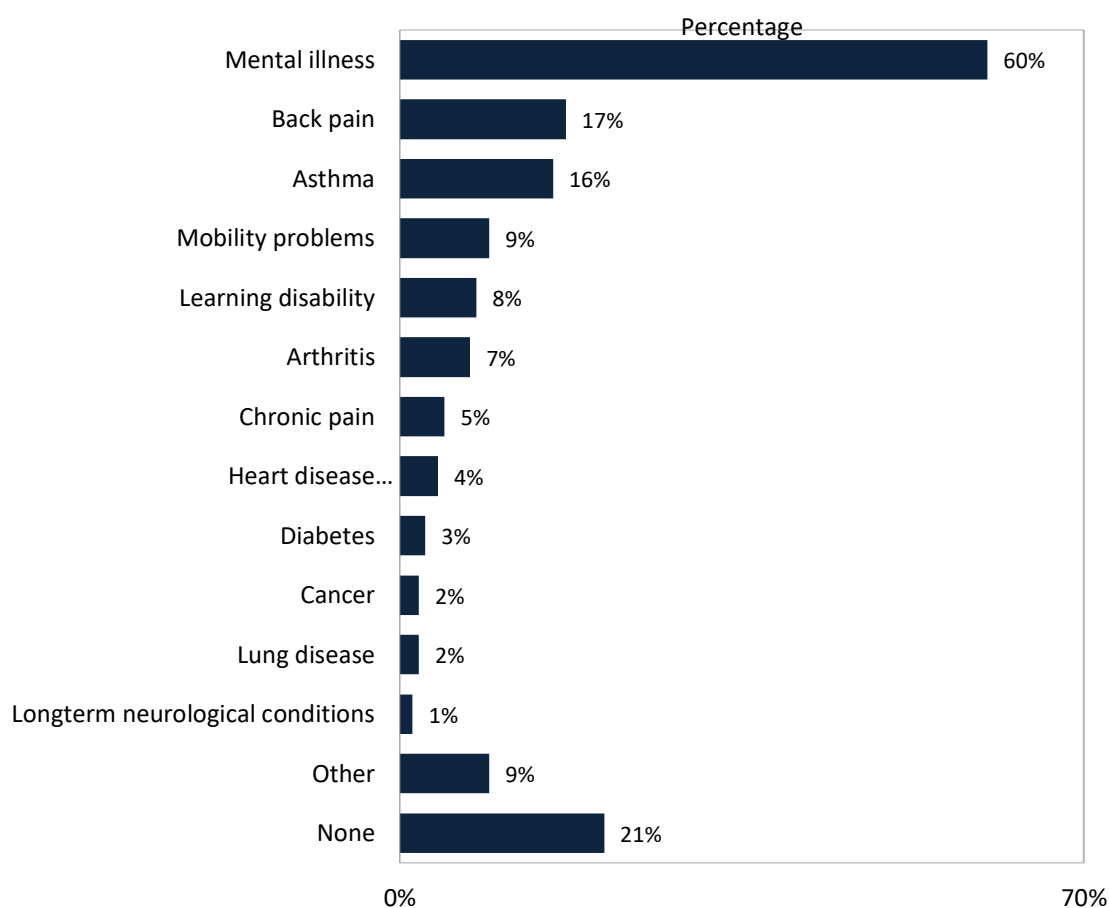
Figure 6: Multiple drug misuse



Respondents were asked to rate their general health on a scale of 'excellent' to 'poor'. 71.2% of respondents rated their general health status as good to excellent, slightly below the Derbyshire average of 81% reported by the 2011 Census (ONS,

2012), and 6.1% rated their health status as poor. Respondents were also asked about the nature and number of their current health problems. This information was coded and categorised for analysis; where multiple mental health conditions were specified by a respondent, these were counted as one condition for the purposes of this analysis. 79.1% of respondents were found to have one or more health related problems. Figure 7 shows the nature and frequency of the conditions reported.

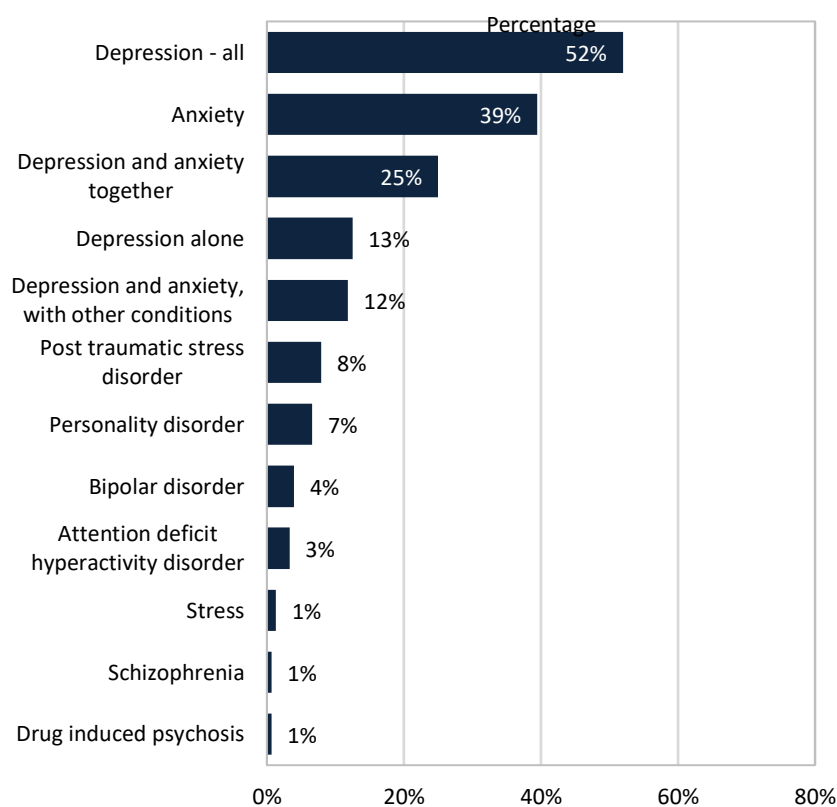
Figure 7: Health problems experienced by offenders, by frequency



Mental health problems were by far the most frequently reported condition, with 60.1% of respondents stating that they had one or more mental health problem. 98.9% of these reported having at least one co-existing physical health related condition. Amongst those respondents who specified a mental illness, depression

was the most common disorder reported (52.0%) with anxiety in second place (39.5%). Both depression and anxiety occurred alone or in combination with other mental health conditions but were reported together by 36.8% of the cohort. Post-traumatic stress disorder and personality disorder were the next most common mental health conditions specified, at 7.9% and 6.6% respectively.

Figure 8: Mental health conditions reported by community offenders



The Adult Psychiatric Morbidity Survey (2014) reported a prevalence of 5.9% for generalised anxiety and 3.3% for depressive episodes in the UK population aged 16 and over (NHS Digital, 2014; NHS Digital 2016). The prevalence of common mental disorders was far higher in this cohort of offenders than is seen in the general population.

When asked whether they were registered with a GP or dental practice, 7.5% of respondents that stated they were not registered with a GP and 39.6% said they were not registered with a dentist. 26.6% reported that they had not seen a GP for 6 months or more and 1.9% said they had never been seen by a GP. 53.6% reported that they had not seen a dentist within the last 6 months; 3.9% had never seen a dentist. Respondents were also asked whether they had experienced problems in getting help from any health services. Although the majority of respondents (74.1%) reported no problems, 13.9% reported that they had experienced problems in getting help.

Qualitative Results

The data collected from 19 semi-structured interviews carried out by probation professionals with community offenders provided insight into both the health profile and health needs of Derbyshire's community offenders. Respondents represented age categories from 18-19 years to 50-59 years. The majority (15 out of 19) were male; 17 reported their ethnicity as White and 2 as Asian/ Asian British.

When asked about their health status, the majority of offenders reported having health problems. These included mental ill health, long-term pain, reduced mobility, sexually transmitted infections, blood borne viruses (BBVs) and ophthalmic and brain conditions. Respondents reported that these conditions affected their daily activities; effects included being prevented from working, difficulties with leaving the house, and walking distances. Problems with aggression, memory loss and with being on time or remembering things were also reported.

Several offenders felt healthcare and probation services had been both good and accessible '*GP has been fabulous – can't fault it.*' '*Probation give me help and keep me out of prison. I don't know what I would do without them.*' However, others expressed mixed opinions about whether they were able to access help for all their health problems and several offenders expressed reluctance to ask for help for specific conditions. Some attributed this to a fear of treatment, previous poor experience, embarrassment, not knowing where to get help and deteriorations in mental health.

Offenders regarded hospitals, dentists and GPs as being difficult to access, and often had problems not knowing '*where to go or who to ask*'; they also struggled with the long waiting lists. Getting a GP appointment was found to be particularly problematic with reports of '*waiting up to an hour on phone to get through [to GP], then when you do get through there's no appointments left.*' One respondent reported that he still requires support to avoid relapse/deterioration but was finding it harder to access that support as his mental health improved. Offenders felt that improving communication, and in particular more phone numbers and general practice staff answering the phone more quickly, would help to improve the service they received, as would more staff and appointments. Others felt that flexible services, such as those based in the community or drop-in sessions, would help. Offenders felt that training staff and increased awareness of offenders' needs would result in improved services.

Online questionnaires were completed anonymously by 49 health and probation professionals. These respondents reported a range of factors that they believed had

an impact on the needs of community offenders, including their physical and mental health, their self-confidence, their lifestyles and wider determinants of health, such as housing and financial issues. Many respondents talked about issues with accommodation:

'Stable accommodation proves to impact the health of offenders both physically and mentally. Unsuitable accommodation can exacerbate existing health problems and also contribute toward the decline in mental health.' Concerns were also expressed about the effect that homelessness has on both individuals and the wider society.

'Homelessness - creates health concerns - increases mental health [problems], exploits vulnerabilities, increased addictions, increases deeper involvement in drugs and alcohol addiction, increases health issues in relation to prostitution.'

Accommodation problems were often intertwined with financial issues: *'Housing benefit claims taking a long time to process resulting in some landlords demanding the tenant pays the arrear.'* Financial constraints were also thought to affect offenders' ability to eat healthily; *'With a limited budget, often only able to buy bare necessities, which is cheap, high sugared and high salted with saturated fats. They lack equipment and opportunity to cook proper healthy foods.'*

Respondents reported that offenders often had difficulty accessing health services and that many lacked the confidence to book and keep appointments. They felt that offenders had difficulty registering with a GP, often attributing this to a lack of knowledge, the transient nature of offenders and lack of acceptable identification. Respondents felt that the rigid primary care framework prevented offenders from seeking or receiving adequate and necessary healthcare:

'They are therefore easily overlooked and forgotten. In addition, when our clients present as problematic and complex, there can be a lack of readiness to fully assess their needs, as this does not fit within the five minute appointment.'

Respondents believed that community offenders often did not seek health care support for their needs, in particular for mental health issues, drugs and alcohol issues and lifestyle issues. It was believed that a large number of offenders require mental health support, but many do not follow this up due to a lack of skills, confidence and motivation. Several respondents discussed the fact that individuals who are unable to get the support they need may reoffend, *'They [community offenders with mental health problems] do not get the support they need, their lifestyle deteriorates, they commit crime.'*

Respondents felt that services often failed to accommodate the chaotic lifestyle of community offenders; long waiting lists and rigid appointment times were considered particularly problematic. *'There are no real dental provision for emergencies, and then if they need a dentist, there are waiting lists to become an NHS patient that is months in advance and, by that time, the person forgets, or gets 'struck off'.'*

Respondents believed services needed to be made easier to access for community offenders and transient populations. More flexible access to services was a recurring theme. Respondents suggested examples to improve access such as drop in clinics where there was no need to book in advance, or appointments with more flexible times. *'Some offenders also hold down a job and are unable to attend day-time appointments as the employer won't allow them time off.'* In particular, it was felt that GPs and mental health services needed to be more flexible, *'Better understanding*

that offenders do not live a conventional life and this impacts on their ability to keep to times/dates etc.'

Discussion

Whilst there is a body of published literature on the health needs of offenders in prison, the health and wellbeing of offenders in the community has not, so far, attracted similar attention. Recent changes in incarceration policies (Parliament UK, 2015) mean it is probable that the number of offenders residing in, or serving part of their sentence in the community will increase, suggesting that there is an urgent need to understand both the health needs of community offenders and how these can be addressed to reduce reoffending behaviour.

An elevated rate of mortality amongst community offenders is frequently reported, suggesting an excessive prevalence of high risk health problems in this population (Brooker *et al.*, 2008). This article found that community offenders were less likely to practise healthy behaviours (such as consuming enough fruit and vegetables or undertaking regular physical activity) and are more likely than the general population to smoke, misuse drugs or drink alcohol to excess. This is of particular concern as these behaviours are associated with an increased risk of long term physical health problems and poorer mental health (Schulte and Hser, 2017).

Our finding that community offenders have a higher prevalence of smoking than the general population aligns with the existing evidence base (Brooker *et al.*, 2008). This could be attributed to the higher percentage of offenders having a lower socioeconomic status or experiencing health inequalities (ASH, 2016) or their

transient lifestyle, which makes it difficult to offer joined-up cessation support (ASH, 2016). This study also added to the existing evidence, with a finding that the majority of respondents who were smokers were under the age of 35. This is of particular concern because adolescence is a time of rapid neurocognitive and hormonal change, making young people particularly vulnerable to smoking initiation and nicotine addiction (Breslau *et al.*, 1993; Towns *et al.*, 2017). Starting to smoke at an early age is associated with heavier smoking in adulthood (Taioli and Wynder, 1991). This means that adolescent smokers will be at increased risk of the later life health hazards associated with smoking, such as respiratory and cardiovascular disease. In line with this, people in contact with the criminal justice system are known to have high levels of co-morbidities (Revolving Doors Agency, 2013).

This study found a remarkably high burden of physical and mental ill health amongst community offenders and found that their lives are often complicated by multi-morbidity and complex social and personal issues. Evidence has shown that, in some cases, an individual's propensity towards crime is determined by three factors; mental health, alcohol and substance misuse (Keay, 2014), and chronic social exclusion (ASH, 2017). Social exclusion is often attributed to a person being faced with problems like poor health, unemployment, inadequate housing, crime or discrimination (Public Health Wales, 2010). Respondents in this study reported problems with the majority of these factors. Furthermore, a lifetime of social exclusion or its consequences are associated with poor mental health (Seymour, 2010). Community offenders frequently require mental health support (Sainsbury's Centre for Mental Health, 2008) and are reportedly unlikely to engage with services providing mental health support (Northamptonshire County Council, 2014). Failure to

provide sufficient support to those with complex mental health needs allows offenders to fall into a cycle of increased risk of poor health and offending and reoffending (London Assembly Health Committee, 2017).

The alcohol consumption behaviour reported by respondents is of concern as heavy drinkers are known to have an increased risk of long term physical health problems and a higher risk of injury, and also poorer levels of mental health than their low risk or non-drinking counterparts (Public Health England, 2016). Alcohol misuse, as well as other substance misuse often co-exists with common mental disorders such as depression and anxiety (Public Health England, 2016). Whilst little evidence specifically explores the effects of alcohol misuse amongst offenders in the community, it is thought prisoners who have committed alcohol-related crimes are at serious risk of re-offending unless they are provided with adequate care (Prison Reform Trust, 2004). For this reason, the Prison Reform Trust (2004) recommends that an effective screening process should be implemented to identify hazardous drinkers as offenders are received into custody.

In our HNA, we found that 63.5% of offenders reported that they had used illegal drugs. It is possible that a large percentage of acquisitive crime, such as shoplifting and burglary, can be attributed to problem drug users (Firth, 2014). Although it usually takes many years to help an individual overcome an addiction, treatment for substance addiction is reported to have an immediate impact on their offending (National Treatment for Substance Misuse, 2009). In 2017, the National Treatment Agency for Substance Misuse reported that the number of offences committed by

opiate and cocaine users almost halved, with 50% of offenders completely ceasing to offend following the start of treatment.

Despite wide recognition that access to health care services is important for the promotion and maintenance of health, the prevention and management of disease and reducing unnecessary morbidity and premature death (Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, 2019), access to services are a well-known problem for community offenders (Brooker *et al.*, 2008) and many respondents in this paper reported difficulties getting help. Given the large number of both physical and mental health problems reported by this group of community offenders, and the high prevalence of multi-morbidity amongst them, these findings are of concern, not only in relation to the management of existing problems but also for preventing the acquisition of new conditions. In line with this, this paper found that, amongst this cohort, many community offenders reported not being registered with primary care services (7.5% of responders were not registered with a GP and 39.6% were not registered with a dentist). It is possible these numbers are an underestimate as patients may be removed from their GP's list if they move out of the area covered by their practice (NHS, 2018) and may not have necessarily been notified. In part, problems with access to services arise because registration with a general practice or a dentist requires a home address and many offenders are homeless or have only temporary accommodation. The lack of a fixed home address can also be problematic for offenders in contact with secondary care, making it difficult for them to receive appointments or information by post (London Assembly Health Committee, 2017). Health and probation professionals reflected numerous concerns about the housing of community offenders, with particular concern over the number

of community offenders who were homeless. Evidence has shown that homelessness or living in temporary accommodation prior to a prison sentence, unemployment in the 12 months prior to custody, and using class A drugs are important factors in predicting reoffending in those who are released from prison (Brunton-Smith and Hopkins, 2013).

Strengths and Limitations

A particular strength of this health needs assessment is its ability to provide an understanding of the health and wellbeing in a population of interest. It highlights community offenders' unmet needs and reveals the impact their existing ill health has on their lives and employment prospects. It also seeks to assess the adequacy of services now and in the future, and to identify appropriate and effective interventions. This HNA employed a mixed-methods approach; use of both a qualitative and a quantitative approach to the assessment of needs is a particular strength of this HNA. The approach has given emphasis to the offender's first-hand experience (California State University, 2017) and helped capture their experiences and views (Al-Busaidi, 2008; Fitzpatrick and Boulton, 1994; Mays and Pope, 2000). A further strength was felt to be the use of a semi-structured interview guide enabled interviewers to elicit from participants the factors that they felt were important (McGrath *et al.*, 2018). Furthermore, this approach has fostered consistency and continuity, by ensuring that the same questions were posed to each participant, increasing the robustness of the data collection (McGrath *et al.*, 2018).

It is widely recognised that offenders are a hard to reach subgroup of the population. Because of these challenges, this study recruited participants using a convenience

sampling methodology. It is possible this sampling method may have resulted in selection bias and the lack of youth offenders interviewed could mean that the findings may not be representative of the views of the wider community offender population. However, these concerns were taken into consideration and relevant professionals for youth offenders have been interviewed. The possibility of bias has been taken into consideration when interpreting the results and given the known problems with engaging this subgroup in research this is felt to be the most appropriate method.

As professionals and service users are known to frequently display divergent views when questioned (Stiggelbout and Van der Weijden, 2012), a significant strength of this HNA is that the views of both professional and service users have been sought and triangulated in the analysis. This HNA has shown that the views of stakeholders largely concur with what literature there is on the health needs of offenders; however, the striking lack of research relating to the health of offenders in the community as opposed to offenders in prison (Brooker et al., 2008) makes it difficult to robustly triangulate the findings of this HNA with established knowledge.

The methodology employed for this HNA was both time-consuming and technically demanding. It required robust project management, both in the preparatory phase and throughout the project. Should the methodology be employed in the future, it is recommended that consideration be given to whether the skills and resources to design, conduct and analyse the data collected are available, to ensure that both quantitative and qualitative data are accurately captured, interpreted and utilised. An important recommendation for future researchers employing a similar methodology is

to ensure they take time to both appropriately design, pilot and analyse their questionnaire; this will help to flag any issues that might lead to challenges in analysing the captured data.

Although a number of caveats with the methodological approach taken to determine the health needs of community offenders in the community for this HNA have been highlighted in this paper, recommendations for strengthening the methodology for future applications have also been identified. This paper has also highlighted the complex and multi-factorial needs of community offenders. Therefore it is evident that all organisations who have contact with community offenders have a duty to act as 'Boundary Spanners,' reaching across organizational boundaries to collaborate and therefore not work in silos (Williams, 2002).

Conclusions

This paper found that community offenders have significant issues with physical and mental health problems and substance misuse, which are complicated by difficulties accessing services and wider determinants of health. This paper sets out the methodological approach taken to understand the health needs of community offenders in Derbyshire. Methods for assessing the health and health care needs of a population may be limited by time and resource. However, where it is possible to overcome these obstacles, pursuing the goal of undertaking a robust and comprehensive HNA facilitates the planning and delivery of effective care and services to those in greatest need, ensuring that scarce resources are allocated where they can give maximum health benefit. This approach provides a practical and transferable framework for identifying, understanding and addressing health needs,

which we believe can be used to provide a comprehensive assessment of the health and social care needs of community offenders.

This paper sought to share the methodology used to understand the health needs of a community offender population and some of the key findings we have found about their health needs. These findings may have implications for policymakers, commissioners and providers of health services ensuring these are accessible and acceptable for offenders in the community. We hope that this paper will facilitate further research within this particular population group, thereby improving both the comprehension of community offenders' health needs and the ability to adequately address these needs. We believe further research in this area alongside addressing these needs is an important part of the prevention of further offending and will benefit not only the individuals at risk of offending or reoffending, but also their families, communities and the wider society.

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Thinking outside the box: intersectionality as a hate crime research framework

Jane Healy

Abstract

There is little sustained exploration of intersectionality within disability studies or hate crime research. Both concepts fail to fully acknowledge the multiple, over-lapping and complicated experiences of risk and victimisation. A unified approach to disability through the social model paradigm may have distracted from the diversity of experiences of those with disabilities. Additionally, intersectionality is at odds with the silo-framework of hate crime policy and legislation. Using data from a research study on disabled people's experiences of hate crime, this article illustrates how applying intersectional analysis to hate crimes contributes to a greater understanding of experiences than the traditional single strand approach. It demonstrates that the current strand-based approach to hate crime disguises the variety of intersecting elements of identity. This article provides an original contribution to existing literature on hate crime and intersectional criminology and offers an alternative human rights based approach.

Key words: intersectionality, disability hate crime, hate crime, disablism, victimisation

Introduction

Academic and policy interest in hate crime, although well established, has been dominated by research and debate around race and religious hatred, with disability on the margins of hate interest (Tyson, Giannasi and Hall, 2015; Sin, 2015; Chakraborti and Garland, 2015; Hall, 2013; Levin, 2013; Chakraborti and Garland, 2009). Despite a recent and welcome increase in research into disability hate crimes, there remains limited robust academic research (Mikton and Shakespeare, 2014), although that which exists suggests disabled people are at greater risk of victimisation than the general population (Khalifeh et al., 2013; Sin et al., 2009). Many studies report a resulting lack of confidence in the criminal justice system by disabled people (Coleman, Sykes and Walker, 2013; Chaplin, Flatley and Smith, 2011; Clement et al., 2011; Vincent et al., 2009; Mind, 2007). Few studies apply intersectionality to hate crime research (Balderston, 2013; Sherry, 2013b; APPG, 2019) and this paper contributes new knowledge to this area of study.

This paper draws upon PhD research to exemplify the advantages of utilising intersectionality to understanding disability hate crime. It begins with an overview of hate crime and intersectionality as a research method, then utilises a case study approach to illustrate the contribution of intersectionality to understanding hate crime victimisation. It concludes by recommending greater integration and application of intersectionality to hate crime.

Defining Hate Crime

The concept of 'hate crime' was adopted by British researchers following the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry in relation to race hate crime (Macpherson, 1999; Hall, 2013). There are however five legally protected characteristics, or hate crime

‘strands’, in the United Kingdom currently: race/ethnic origin, religion/faith, sexual orientation, disability and gender identity. The impact of civil rights activism is evidenced in the recognition of these protected characteristics over others, though there was initial resistance to the inclusion of some of them (Giannasi, 2015). These strands share a history of oppression, evidence of increased victimisation and a legacy of poor criminal justice responses.

The Crown Prosecution Service defines hate crime as ‘any incident which the victim, or anyone else, thinks is based on someone’s prejudice towards them because of their race, religion, sexual orientation, disability or because they are transgender’ (CPS, undated, para 9). For the purposes of this article, attention is drawn to the use of the word ‘or’ in this definition, as it distinguishes between each of these protected characteristics separately. Intersectionality offers an alternative approach that enables a consideration of such characteristics combined.

Hate Crime Legislation

Hate crime legislation was designed to send a positive message to specific victim groups and was deemed a useful way for police to engage with marginalised communities. However, not all groups are protected equally within the legislation. Hate crime legislation has been criticised for creating competition between victim groups (Mason-Bish, 2015), in that not all available legislation applies to all strands and is perceived to have created a ‘two-tiered’ system of hate crimes, or what the Law Commission termed a ‘hierarchy of victims’ (2013: 84) (see also Roulstone, Thomas & Balderston, 2011). Despite specific legislation for racial and religiously motivated offences, established by the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (and amended by the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act, 2001), there is no specific legislation

for disability motivated offences. Rather, there are provisions within the Criminal Justice Act (CJA) 2003 that merely call for an enhanced sentence as a result of proof of motivation or demonstration of hostility.

There have also been calls for additional categories of protected characteristics and the Law Commission is currently reviewing existing hate crime legislation, with their report expected in early 2020. Strong arguments have been put forward for legislative inclusion for groups with less social advocacy, such as homeless people, asylum seekers, those with drug or alcohol dependency, and other marginalised groups such as sex workers, the elderly and, particularly, women (Chakraborti, 2016; Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2014a; Chakraborti and Garland, 2012; Garland, 2011; Perry, 2001). Similarities are highlighted between the experiences of these groups and those of existing strands. For example, Garland and Hodgkinson (2014) identify a number of comparables between those in alternative subcultures and traditional hate strands. Failure to extend protection to these other groups suggests that they are less deserving of protection than other minority communities and highlights concerns that the strand system is unfair and leads to rivalries and competition for resources (Garland, 2011; Mason-Bish, 2010; Jacobs and Potter, 1998). This challenges the purported positive message that hate crime legislation is supposed to be sending out (Mason-Bish, 2015); however, extending the legislation runs the risk of watering down the provisions to the point of meaninglessness (Mason, 2015). To include additional groups downplays the historical significance seen in established strands and risks disappointing those very groups the legislation was originally enacted to protect. Ultimately, any approach to legislation which focuses on specific identity-characteristics contributes to a 'silo' approach, where groups are added to policy as time goes on (Mason-Bish, 2015). This approach fails

to consider the intersections of existing strands with other excluded groups; for example, those who may be multiply-disadvantaged through being both disabled and a member of a minority ethnic community (Mason-Bish, 2015; Crock, Ernst and McCallum Ao, 2011). As such, the current strand-based approach to hate crime has tended to oversimplify victim groups and does not take into account the diversity of victims and their experiences.

A strand-based approach also communicates that one particular element of a victim's identity is more salient than others (Chakraborti and Garland, 2012). Multiple identities are largely ignored in favour of 'simplistic, individualist, single-identity protection' (Sherry, 2013a: 83) whereas hate crime policy would be better placed to 'understand the fluidity of identity and the multiple ways in which prejudice and violence might be experienced' (Mason-Bish, 2015: 25; Garland, 2011). This article contends that hate crime frameworks must also be mindful to recognise the diversity *within* groups, as the dynamics of particular elements of subgroups can be lost (Sherry, 2013a). The next section considers the contribution intersectionality can offer to the debate.

Intersectionality in research practice

Intersectionality within research involves the concurrent analyses of multiple, intersecting elements of identity, based on the principle that the impact of one form of subordination may differ depending on its combination with other potential sources. Thiara and Hague define intersectionality as 'the intersection of multiple systems of oppression and domination [which] shapes individual and collective experiences and struggles' (2013:107). Intersectionality challenges the researcher to contemplate what it means to have a marginalised status within a marginalised

group (Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach, 2008). Originating in Black Feminist and Critical Race theories, intersectionality was originally most associated with the work of Kimberle Crenshaw in her research on multiple forms of oppression experienced by African-American women (1991). Subsequent research has utilised an intersectional approach to explore oppression not simply on the basis of gender and race but also by class, sexual orientation and ability. For example, Liasidou (2013) and Balderston (2013) advocate it as a suitable method for interpreting experiences of disability hate crime, as it explores the way in which social and cultural categories interweave and compound forms of oppression and marginalisation, yet its usage has been limited to date. Intersectionality's analytical approach to researching minority groups considers the meaning and consequences of multiple and overlapping categories of identity, difference and disadvantage. By considering multiple, intersecting layers of oppression or subordination, the impact of experiences of crime, and by extension, hate crime, can therefore vary.

Applying intersectionality to disability hate crimes

As intersectionality acknowledges a compounding effect, it advocates awareness that every individual occupies multiple categories simultaneously and that those individuals can be members of majority and minority communities concurrently. The challenge exists therefore in applying intersectionality to hate crime research. The All Party Parliamentary Group's recent report on hate crime acknowledges that 'the current legislation does not allow for this intersectionality to be recorded so the picture that authorities have lacks depth and subtlety' (2019: 4). Intersectionality is inherently at odds with hate crime legislation and policy, in that it not just acknowledges overlapping 'layers' or elements of identity, but considers that traditional, simplistic analyses fail to make sense of the lived experience of victims

(Horvath and Kelly, 2007). Contrastingly, hate crime is based on a silo or strand-based, additive approach. Perry (2009) proposes that this single-strand approach to hate crime undermines victims' confidence in the criminal justice system as it misses opportunities to meet victims' needs and prevent further crime. Policy should not assume that one element of identity is dominant over others, as a single strand approach to hate crime risks failing to capture the entirety of a victim experience. Rather, what is needed is consideration of the multiple identities involved. Research has shown how the experience of disability is compounded when disabled individuals belong to multiple minority groups (Coleman, Sykes and Walker, 2013; Clement et al., 2011). However, lack of integration between current strands of hate crime and the possible neglect of gender and socio-economic perspectives at policy level further contributes to inadequate crime prevention and ineffective responses. Accumulated risk factors can heighten the likelihood of being a victim, both on an individual and socio-environmental level, producing different levels of risk and experience (Sin, 2015).

A hate crime model informed by intersectionality thus needs to engage on multiple levels and reduce the 'real risks of oversimplifying the victim experience' (Perry, 2009: 9). There have been calls for further intersectional analysis of disability hate crimes to identify and explore how other elements of identity can impact upon experiences (Sin, 2014; Sherry, 2013b) and this paper addresses that call. To date there have been limited attempts to understand the experiences of those who occupy multiple positions of inferiority such as women with disabilities (Sin et al., 2009; Perry, 2003), although there are some exceptions (Williams and Tregidga, 2014; Barclay and Mulligan, 2009; Brownridge, 2006). A possible explanation for a lack of sustained exploration of intersectionality in Disability Studies may be the

dominant ethos of the disabled people's movement as a homogenous group. Its unified political identity, which has successfully gained recognition and legislation for disabled victims of crime, could have potentially detracted from an acknowledgement of the diversity of disabled people, resulting in an absence of insights from Disability Studies exploring intersections and multiplicity (Thiara, Hague and Mullender, 2011). Added to this are pre-existing perceptions about disability on the part of both non-disabled people and researchers that can obscure both intragroup difference and emphasise possible commonalities across disabled communities (Cole, 2009).

Presenting the disabled people's movement as a united, marginalised 'other' may have contributed to a denial of personal and multiple identities within (Peters, 1996).

Miller et al (2006) raise concerns as to the suitability of intersectionality to disability hate crime research, as many disabled people are essentialised and pathologised by their impairments and therefore lack an equal starting point. Yet, an intersectionality approach does not assume a level of equality of positionality. As Anthias (1988) notes, different layers of identity are dominant at different times. There is no deficiency in disabled people being placed in an unequal position, because the very nature of intersectionality allows for an understanding of that inequality and perceived inferiority. What intersectionality offers to understandings of disability is a move away from notions of individual pathology and towards a framework of social justice and human rights as a method of tackling wider systemic regimes, in sympathy with social model proponents (Liasidou, 2013).

Consequently, consideration of hate crime on an individual strand basis fails to recognise the interplay of various elements of identity with other social and situational characteristics (Mason-Bish, 2015; Chakraborti and Garland, 2015; Chakraborti, 2015; Walters and Hoyle, 2012). For example, disabled women are

more likely to have lower socio-economic status, and be at greater risk of domestic violence (Brownridge, 2006); thus the experiences of all disabled people will not be the same. Researching hate crime through a wider lens, beyond simple constructions of identity, acknowledges the roles other elements have to play in experiences of victimisation, including that of socio-economic conditions. In addition, strand-based approaches draw attention to those left out of hate crime protection and how victim groups are presented in simplistic forms. However, the concept of intersectionality has its limitations in terms of practical and policy questions as to how many aspects of identity should be considered (Mason-Bish, 2015). The following section uses research findings to illustrate the contribution of intersectionality to interpreting disability hate crime experiences.

Methodology: Intersectionality in disability hate crime research

The research presented herein is drawn from research examining disabled people's experiences of hate crime. Utilising a social constructivist perspective, it explored social, cultural and historically constructed meanings of disability and identity, within a participatory framework (Healy, 2019). The findings presented are taken from one section of the study: 12 narrative interviews with victims⁶ of disability hate crimes, the majority of which were conducted in 2014.

Content analysis of interviews was conducted with the aid of an NVivo software package (QSR NVivo 8.0 and 10.0). An inductive approach to data analysis was taken, utilising thematic coding of interviews (Flick, 2006). Participation was confidential and anonymised and in compliance with the Data Protection Act (DPA; HM Government, 2003). The research was approved by Middlesex University's

⁶ In line with hate crime policy, the term victim is used to represent those who have experienced hate crimes, but this author accepts and recognises the use of survivors, and/or victim-survivors, as alternative terms.

School of Law's Ethics Sub-Committee and was in alignment with the British Society of Criminology's Code of Ethics (2015).

During the early stages of the narrative interview process, multiple and overlapping categories of identity emerged within participants' stories, raising the question as to whether an intersectional approach to analysis would have utility. Methodologically, researchers often hold one category as constant (often race or gender) so that they can manage their comparisons (Simien, 2007). Intersectionality, however, requires more than this simple separate analysis and a move away from traditional theories to interpret results (Cole, 2009; Horvath and Kelly 2007). It endeavours to construct new theories and methodological approaches that address the complex process through which social categories shape and determine identity, although its complexity can make analysis difficult if it includes a wide range of dimensions and categories (McCall, 2005). The analysis drew upon McCall's (2005: 1777) intracategorical approach, which advocates for an explicit recognition of a 'master category' (or element of identity) to be researched.

For this study, disability/impairment was identified as the master category. Although recognising that disability may not always have been the most important or significant element of identity to the participants at all times, participants had self-identified as disabled or having an impairment or condition (often multiple). As such, disability was the dominant category in their descriptions of themselves. This intracategorical approach allowed for other categories to *emerge* from the fieldwork and data collection processes. Participants' self-perceptions do not always fit with the perceptions of others or with external identity markers that may be placed upon them (Aldridge, 2014) and this process enabled participants' *own* self-categorisation. This reduced the risk of researcher bias in determining which elements of identity

were most relevant. Rather, the research was being directed to this by the meaning and description provided by participants themselves. This fitted within the narrative feminist-influenced framework. Self-categorisation subverts unequal power relations and is a method of resistance for members of subordinated groups (Crenshaw, 1993).

As expected, many participants self-identified through the interview process as having one or more categories of identity or 'dimensions of social life' (McCall, 2005, p.1772) which were important to them. By asking participants to 'tell me about yourself' this allowed them to identify the relevant and most important elements of their identity. Drawing upon feminist scholarship in this way engaged with the problematic nature of researching the complex lives – and priorities – of others whilst avoiding essentialising them through potentially tokenistic, objectifying or voyeuristic means (Crenshaw, 1993). It recognised their own categorisation, not just the researcher's 'master category' of disability, but other, equally valid elements of identity and social life. Through their narratives, participants naturally and authentically indicated how multiple dimensions of identity shaped their experiences. Thus, by applying an intersectional approach to disability research, the findings achieved a shift away from disability as individual pathology towards a framework bent on tackling wider socially and culturally systemic regimes, sympathetic to the social model of disability.

Findings: Intersecting disability, sexual orientation and gender

Analysis of interview data identified two interwoven trends within an intersectional framework. The first is that of intersecting hate *strands*. The participants recognised that hate crimes can overlap different minority strands and that individual victims are

often targeted for multiple reasons. For example, 'Gemma' recognised that she was targeted for being disabled and being gay. She recounts experiences of hate crime when she was younger where she was targeted for her sexual orientation. This changed as she developed impairments and disabilities later in her life. The type of language used more recently was directed at both her disability and her sexuality: 'I've been called a fucking faggot, fat queer, you know erm, I've been told, you know you should've all been drowned at birth'. In addition to a compound effect of multiple layers of discrimination and violence, for Gemma the difference is also practical. What distinguishes the homophobic targeting in her youth and the multiple-identity targeting of late is her physical ability to respond. She could defend herself then, but not now, she says. The nature of her disability and impairments means she cannot outrun her assailants and she is physically unable to fight back. Whilst no victim should be targeted in this way, for Gemma she is multiply-restricted because of her own health limitations. Although she resisted a victim-label, she has had to adapt her lifestyle as a consequence of her experiences as a *disabled woman*, more so than when she was targeted for *homophobic* crimes. Mason-Bish (2015) highlights the frustration that can be felt when a victim experiences more than one form of victimisation in this way. She urges policy to 'understand the fluidity of identity and the multiple ways in which prejudice and violence might be experienced' (2015: 25). Many of the participants identified with this layering of multiple-identities. Applying a single-strand approach fails to appreciate the increased risk Gemma, and others, faced.

Secondly, and linked to the finding above, the research identified the intersections of gender and disability, with women reporting more violence, bullying and threats than men, and sexual violence identified as a form of hate crime for three of the female

interview participants. This is not unexpected given the evidence that disabled women face double disadvantage through both gender and disability, making them particularly vulnerable to sexual violence and exploitation (e.g. Sherry, 2013b; Balderston, 2013; Brownridge, 2006; Brown, 2004). For example, although 'Ruby' was assaulted as a teenager, which she believed was as a consequence of her disability, she was also threatened with sexual assault as a method of harassment and abuse, with language indicative of gendered sexual violence. She describes how: 'the kids threatened to rape and stab me' and their language included: 'I'm gonna stick you with my great big 12 inch cock, I'm gonna stab you ...' and 'I'm gonna stab you up the arse'.

The stories by Ruby and other participants support the literature regarding sexual assault as a method of disability hate crime against women (for example, Barclay and Mulligan, 2009; Coleman, Sykes and Walker, 2013; Sherry, 2013b). Research by Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy (2014a) reported that 22% of disabled respondents had experienced sexual violence, demonstrating that sexual violence is a method of disability hate crime and that there are intersections of gender and disability occurring (see also Balderston 2013a). Sherry (2013b) advocates for greater recognition of rape as a gendered hate crime, without which he argues disabled women may lack recognition or identification as hate crime victims. The evidence here provides additional confirmation for this.

These findings illustrate how a strand-based approach to hate crime disguises the variety of intersecting elements of identity that changes a victim's experiences and consequently could reduce their likelihood of reporting their experiences. Efforts must be made to engage with harder to reach groups and, if reported, to record these experiences adequately and accurately to reflect all of these elements. As

Mason-Bish (2015) suggests, policy needs to adapt to be able to consider the risks involved related to more complex identities, and be able to record data to take account of this.

The demise of a strand based approach

Consideration of hate crime on an individual strand basis fails to recognise the interplay of these elements of identity with other social and situational characteristics (Mason-Bish, 2015; Chakraborti and Garland, 2015; Chakraborti, 2015; Walters and Hoyle, 2012). Researching hate crime through a wider lens, beyond simple constructions of identity, acknowledges the roles other elements have to play in experiences of victimisation, including that of socio-economic conditions. Strand-based approaches draw attention to those left out of hate crime protection but victim groups are presented in simplistic forms. However, the concept of intersectionality has its limitations in terms of practical and policy questions as to how many aspects of identity should be considered (Mason-Bish, 2015).

Efforts to tackle disability hate crime may benefit from a critical examination of the lessons generated from discourse on violence against women. Violence (and by default discrimination) is both a cause and consequence of inequality and there are a variety of ways in which experiences of victimisation are connected to inequalities and human rights (Horvath and Kelly, 2007). Victimisation follows the contours of disadvantage and exclusion, and thus belonging to a group that is discriminated against increases the likelihood of experiencing violence or abuse. Reframing violence against women as a human rights issue has placed individual experiences within a wider pattern of inequality, reflecting broader gendered social constructs, and requiring cultural change. Barclay and Mulligan (2009) suggest this human rights

conceptualisation could provide useful lessons for tackling targeted violence against disabled people. Whilst conceding that there are differences between groups, areas of commonality between violence against women and hate crimes include the structural context of inequality and its link to violence as part of a wider pattern of behaviour that reinforces such inequality. Targeted violence against disabled people can therefore be 'conceptualised as the wider subordination of disabled people within society', shifting focus away from individual issues and towards 'systemic disablism and abuse of human rights' (Barclay and Mulligan, 2009: 44) through a social model interpretation. However, as Murray and Powell (2009) warn in their research on domestic violence, tensions can arise between situating responses within a discourse on rights to participate equally in society, and framing women as vulnerable and in need of protection. The same caution should be applied to disability research. Just as protectionist discourses have tended to pathologise women as vulnerable or helpless victims in order to legitimise policy responses, so have the same discourses labelled disabled people as inherently 'vulnerable' (Alhaboby et al., 2016; Roulstone and Saddique, 2013).

Priority can be given to service provisions for victims of violence by placing violence within an equalities concept. Targeted violence against disabled people prevents disabled people from fulfilling their potential and realising their rights. By considering this issue within an equalities framework, greater legislation is available for recourse. Furthermore, by using a human-rights based approach, the onus is placed on the state to protect individuals proactively (Barclay and Mulligan, 2009). However, equalities work in the UK has tended to be one or two dimensional, and therefore a challenge to intersectional analysis (Horvath and Kelly, 2007). Failure to think about the equality strands as interconnected may therefore result in inappropriate policy

responses, as with hate crime policy. Any examination of the role of inequality needs to consider how individuals (and groups) are embedded in cultural and historical contexts (Cole, 2009).

Conclusion: Thinking beyond the box

Mason-Bish (2015: 31) rightly concludes that 'identity is messy' and that 'it is time for hate crime policy to better acknowledge this'. The current hate crime approach is too simplistic in terms of identity. Structural and economic issues are often subsumed or ignored (Mason-Bish, 2015). This paper illustrates how a strand-based approach disguises or inhibits the variety of intersecting elements of identity that, combined, can increase risk of victimisation. By thinking beyond traditional conceptualisations, or outside of the 'box' within which hate crime legislation and policy currently sit, this paper recommends a more holistic and intersectional interpretation of victims' experiences and illustrates this by drawing on disability hate crime research. It suggests a human rights perspective may offer an alternative to current strand-based policy.

This paper was presented at the British Society of Criminology's annual conference in 2019. It contributes to the gap in evidence-based research on disability hate crime, and the debate on intersectionality as a research framework, beyond traditional realms of race and gender. As such, it provides an original contribution to existing literature on hate crime and contemporary intersectional criminology.

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Exploring the criminology curriculum

Kelly J. Stockdale and Rowan Sweeney

Abstract

There are calls across Higher Education to address deep structural inequalities with specific concerns that the marginalisation of certain voices (female, colonised, non-western and LGBTQ+) has influenced and distorted the production of knowledge in relation to key criminological topics and issues (Agozino, 2003; Cunneen and Rowe, 2015; Connell, 2007).

This article presents initial findings from a pilot study exploring the curriculum of a new criminology Bachelor of Arts degree programme at a post-92 English University. It provides a timely starting point, given the proliferation of HE criminology courses in the UK, and suggests there is both increasing pressures to develop course material and over-familiarisation and acceptance of dominant narratives in criminology. This paper serves as a call to action to critically engage with the sources used: in so doing we put forward a simple 'inclusivity matrix' that can be used both when designing curricula and for teaching critical information literacy.

Keywords

higher education, neoliberalism, decolonialising the curriculum, race, gender.

Introduction

There is much interest in Higher Education (HE) to decolonise the curriculum (see, for example, Arday and Mirza 2018), to challenge gender inequalities (Maher and Thompson 2001; Doherty and Manfredi 2006; Sagaria 2007), to widen participation

(Archer, Hutchings and Ross 2005; Hinton-Smith 2012), and to be pedagogically intersectional (Case 2016; Berger and Guidroz 2009) in order to act against perpetual repression of traditionally marginalised voices within curricula. Whilst it is commonly recognised that criminology is an academic discipline which fundamentally seeks to understand and incite positive change to the inequalities and injustices experienced by vulnerable and marginalised social groups (Davis 1998; DeKeseredy 2010), criminology arguably continues to be a masculinised and Western dominated discipline despite considerable growth in the research, publications and perspectives of individuals from diverse socio-economic, geographic and demographic backgrounds (Daly and Chesney-Lind 1988; Barbet 2007; Howes 2018). The tradition of the discipline has caused marginalisation of certain voices (female, colonised, non-western and LGBTQ+) and as a result has influenced and distorted the production of knowledge in relation to key criminological topics and issues (Cunneen and Rowe 2015; Connell 2007). Although the importance of traditional criminological perspective and theorists should be recognised, it is also vital to consider the multiple perspectives and narratives relevant in global and contemporary societies concerning criminological issues.

Over recent years campaigns aimed at questioning university course content have gathered pace with student resistance questioning 'Why Is My Curriculum White' (Salami 2015). The 2009 National Union of Students' Black Students Campaign surveyed 938 Black students, finding that 42 per cent did not believe their curriculum reflected issues of diversity, equality, and discrimination (NUS, 2011). Research shows UK universities are making slow progress on equality, particularly in relation to staff and student representation (Bhopal and Pitkin, 2018) and the retention and progression of staff into senior roles: there were only 25 black women and 90 black men among the 19,000 professors in 2016 -17 (Adams 2018).

Whilst there are attempts to foster greater attention to the dynamics of race and racism within criminology itself: including the recent founding of the British Society of Criminology (BSC) 'Race Matters Network' - indeed, the 2019 BSC conference to which this paper was presented was a call for 'how criminologists might address issues of power, marginalisation, intersectionality and justice in the 21st Century' - deep-rooted inequalities that are present across many aspects of academia are present within the discipline. Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) within which

Western discourses on criminology are produced have, despite policy making i.e. through Athena SWAN Charter 2005 and Race Equality Charter 2016 in the U.K, failed to address structural inequality - particularly in relation to race (Bhopal, 2019). The structural racism within HEIs is further exacerbated by the embedded racism and colonialism within criminal justice institutions. Agozino (2013) argues that criminology as a discipline has failed to address the issue of race due to the discipline itself being complicit in imperialism. He states criminology has 'served colonialism more directly than other social sciences' (p.1). Criminology largely stems from an aim to academically examine institutions which centre on social control (Cohen 1988), therefore as such criminal and social institutions, now and historically, rest on the perpetuation of racial difference and exploitation within society – therefore it is difficult to remove criminology from colonialism due to its subject matter (Moore 2016; Davis 2003; Agozino 2013).

It is important for academics to understand and teach authentically, and with recognition for historical and contemporary biases. Criminological thinking is informed by the realities of prevailing conditions, therefore, authenticity involves consideration of factors which impact criminological and social phenomenon: authentic thinking ensures that understandings are not developed in isolation but are grounded in reality and are inclusive of diverse perspectives (Freire 1970: 50). Information used within the curriculum, to provide insight into specific criminological topics, is the information students use to construct knowledge about such topics. Knowledge construction is fundamentally linked to power relations due to the inherent interconnection between knowledge and power (Foucault 1980; Mader 2012). If criminology students are potentially not being encouraged to consider certain sources or viewpoints when learning or writing about an area of criminology, then it is unlikely that the knowledge construction of criminological topics will develop in a way shaped by authentic and/or diverse voices. Thus, the power of such voices will continue to be reduced and be largely incapable of informing criminological thinking.

Criminology and Higher Education

Criminology is arguably the quickest developing academic discipline in the United Kingdom (Bowling and Ross 2006; McLaughlin and Muncie 2013). The number of criminology degree programmes has grown at an unprecedented rate which has

arguably had both positive and negative impacts on the discipline and related teaching at universities (UCAS 2019; BSC Learning and Teaching Network 2019; Garland 2011). This growth shows no sign of abating with a Universities and Colleges Admissions Service (UCAS) search for available 'criminology' undergraduate programmes showing continued increases with 906 courses offered by 130 providers in 2019/20 to 1116 courses offered by 154 providers in 2020/21 (accessed 04/09/19). At the same time the discipline of criminology has transformed due to numerous factors, including: significant increase in number of degree programmes at universities, increased scope of subject matter, growing requirement for criminal justice practitioners to have relevant degrees, and intensification of concerns regarding employability as a subject in neoliberal Higher Education (UCAS 2019; BSC Learning and Teaching 2018; PEQF 2016; Garland 2008; Barton et al. 2010).

Criminal justice and HE, and thus criminology, exist and for the last three decades have evolved within a swiftly transforming world (Garland and Sparks 2000; Garland 2001; Brown 2011). The cultural transformation in line with the core values of neo-liberalism, such as privatisation and deregulation, have arguably complicated education, particularly in universities which have increasingly been impacted and influenced by the pressures of marketisation (Frauley 2005; Tombs and Whyte 2003). Barton et al. (2010) suggest that universities are market competitors in relation to external funding and student recruitment which are factors influenced by the courses and disciplines a university offers as well as its facilities and recovered employment rates of past students. In accordance, arguably academic knowledge has become 'commercialised and commodified' (Walters 2007: 7). The commodification of HE through increased government control of academic institutions impacts autonomy of research, teaching, and curricula (Ericson 2003; Garland 2011; Serrano et al. 2018).

The commodification of HE within such economic and social conditions has significantly changed the type of value students place on a degree. A university degree has come to be understood as an 'investment' instead of a means of social, intellectual or personal growth (Barton et al. 2010: 38). Walters (2007) argues that the focus of academic knowledge is its ability to be exchanged, as opposed to its educational value and respective empowering, enlightening, rewarding potential for

an individual. Barton et al. (2010) stress that fundamentally this change in the functionality of universities and academic education has negative implications for subject curriculum content and significantly damages critical scholarship and the development of critical thought in undergraduate students (Furedi 2004).

Indeed, the transactional nature of HE which is influenced by neoliberal values arguably impacts the way a subject is taught as well as students' perspectives on the function of a degree. The commodification of university education realistically impacts the way in which students are taught often due to pressures out of the control of academic staff. 'The "banking" concept of education' accounted by Freire (1970: 44-59) provides an effective example to illustrate teaching related issues which often materialise within profit driven HE institutions. Freire addresses the passive nature education can often take with the educator 'filling' students whom take the form of 'containers'; in this sense education has a depository manner rather than being focused on narration or contextualisation in order to develop critical thought (1970: 45). Freire (1970) highlights that prescribed reading can play an important role in the character of education which is offered to a student: on one hand it supports the notion of passive learning and banking education, on the other hand if used correctly, it has the potential to inform and humanise topics in a way which brings to life, and to mind, a variety of previously concealed voices. Thus, the use of varied and representative literature within education enables topics to take on a less abstract form and encourages students to hopefully become further engaged rather than passive (Freire 1970). This example is further fitting to the context of commodified HE because Freire (1970) asserts that blame should not be passed to a specific educator for teaching in a 'banking' manner, rather it is a problem of structure. Diverse, intersectional and critical curriculums, pedagogic and teaching approaches require preparation time and the financial backing of staff to develop which is often limited within neoliberal university departments.

Accordingly, the curriculum should be designed with critical information literacy in mind (McCluskey-Dean, 2019). Coonan et al. (2018: 3) note that information literacy goes beyond thinking critically; that it allows us to make balanced judgements about sources of information used and by engaging in this way citizens are empowered to 'develop informed views and to fully engage with society'. However, the current focus on information literacy often focuses either on specific elements of formal HE or

presents it as a skill for 'employability': this is often to the exclusion of the 'real world' and ignores the value of information literacy to social justice (McCluskey-Dean, 2019). Indeed, building on Bourg's (2014) address to Duke University Libraries 'neoliberalism is toxic for higher education...research libraries can & should be sites of resistance', Beilin (2015, online accessed 04/09/19) argues that: 'information literacy instruction should resist the tendency to reinforce and reproduce hegemonic knowledge, and instead nurture students' understandings of how information and knowledge are formed by unequal power relations based on class, race, gender and sexuality'. Although the commodification of HE impacts the development of critical thought in countless disciplines, Barton et al. (2010) assert that it is acutely apparent and harmful in the case of criminology (Serrano et al. 2018).

Methods

This pilot study looked at the composition of the core reading list submitted for validation of a new criminology undergraduate (BA) programme at a post '92 university. The university, a former teaching college with a 175-year history of teaching and education, was accredited as a University in 2006. The criminology degree launched September 2016 and the data here represents the core reading lists put forward for the course validation and the full reading lists submitted to the librarian for each initial year that module ran. One hundred and four core texts were submitted as part of the validation process, with approximately five texts submitted for thirteen core modules and nine optional modules covering the full degree programme from Year 1 to Year 3. Following the initial analysis of this data, further research on the full reading list for two core first year modules: 'Key Concepts for Criminologists', and 'Fundamentals of Criminological Theory', and two specific second year modules (also core modules) on Ethnicity, Crime and the Criminal Justice System and Gender, Sexuality and Crime were analysed. Analysis did not include any additional readings discussed in lectures or additional sources used or suggested by academic staff.

Data from these reading lists were imported into an Excel spreadsheet; data included the module name and code, year of study, and if it was a core or optional module. If multiple authors contributed to a text they were coded individually as 'first, second, third etc. author'. Texts were coded in relation to the gender, race, and

where possible the sexuality of the author as well as intersections of these – i.e. black female professors. These were coded via publicly available information on the author gleaned from internet searches including biographies, institutional webpages, and online profiles.

In addition to the reading list analysis focus group research was also conducted with students across the degree programme. The research took part at the end of the academic year with n=8 students (6 from first year, 2 from third year) taking part. Further research is due to take place in throughout 2019/20, however, this initial pilot study gives an insight into how students engage with reading lists and also puts forward findings from this pilot testing of an 'inclusivity matrix' that can be used by staff and students to help encourage critical information literacy.

As an exploration of texts and students' perceptions of the authors who had written the texts this unfortunately meant using and applying labels as a starting point for broader discussion. Gender as male, female, and non-binary to include a spectrum of gender identities was incorporated into the matrix. The term Black Minority Ethnic or 'BME' was used throughout this research and published findings as it is a commonly used term in HE (Advance HE, accessed 21/11/19). However, we recognised the limitations of the terms used and sought to put them into context across the focus groups.

This article presents the initial findings from this research. Further papers are forthcoming which provide more detailed analysis of the full reading list data, as well as more in-depth analysis from student focus groups as we explore the use of the 'Intersectionality Matrix' as a pedagogical tool to embed critical information theory.

Results

Core Criminology Curriculum

In relation to gender over two thirds (70.27%) of the 104 core readings put forward for the BA criminology course reading lists submitted for validation had a male first author. Less than a third were female (29.81%). Only 6% of first authors across these core readings were BME (two females, four male). Analysis by year group highlights the issue further: there are no BME first author texts across first year

readings submitted for validation. It is not until the second year and a specific core module on 'Ethnicity, Crime and the Criminal Justice System' that BME first author texts feature – with four of the core texts for this specific module written by a person of colour. The other two texts written by BME academics feature in 'Quantitative Approaches to Research' second year core module, and one text in a third-year optional module 'Terrorism, State Crime and Political Violence'.



Figure 1: Authorship of core texts (based on the first author)

Gender and Race Divisions

The gender divide was more pronounced across specific modules; here we see that female first authors predominately featured across two specific modules: 'Gender, Sexuality and Crime', which contained four female first authors, and one male author; and a third-year optional module of 'Sex Work' where all five texts had female first authors. Many (7 of the 22 modules) had no female authors on the core reading put forward for the validation of the programme. These included the first-year core module on 'Fundamentals of Criminological Theory', second year core modules on 'Working with Criminology' and third year optional modules such as 'Philosophical Aspects of Criminological Theory'.

Due to the lack of female and BME authors in the texts put forward for validation a detailed full reading list for two core first year modules were analysed in further detail. 'Key Concepts for Criminologists' contained 27 readings (19 essential readings and 8 recommended readings), this comprised 25 male first authors, and two female first authors. All authors in the reading list for this module were white. Both texts written by female first authors were recommended, not core texts. 'Fundamentals of Criminological Theory' had 21 readings (16 essential, and 5 recommended), reading list analysis showed 17 male first authors, two of which were BME, and four female white authors. The two modules that had higher representations of female and BME authors were second year core modules: Gender, Sexuality and Crime had eight readings in total: one white male author and seven works authored by female authors - one of these being 'Yearning: race, gender, and cultural politics' by bell hooks (1991). Ethnicity, Crime and the Criminal Justice System had three male authors, one white; and two female authors, both of whom are BME.

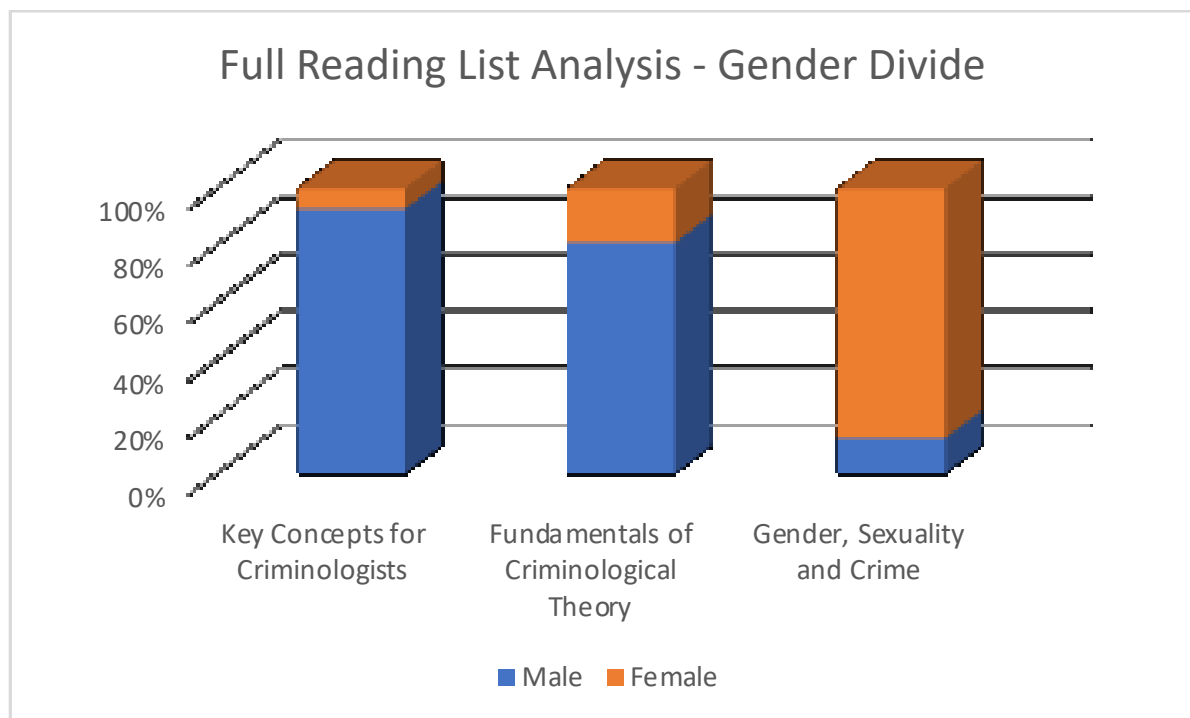


Figure 2: Full Reading List Analysis of Core 1st Year Modules by Gender of First Author

Data from the full reading list analysis of these two core first year modules is displayed in Figures 2 and 3 alongside the second-year core modules on ‘Gender, Sexuality and Crime’ and ‘Ethnicity, Crime and the Criminal Justice System’ as a comparison. These highlight how traditionally marginalised voices are confined to discussions on gender and race and are not fully incorporated across mainstream criminology.

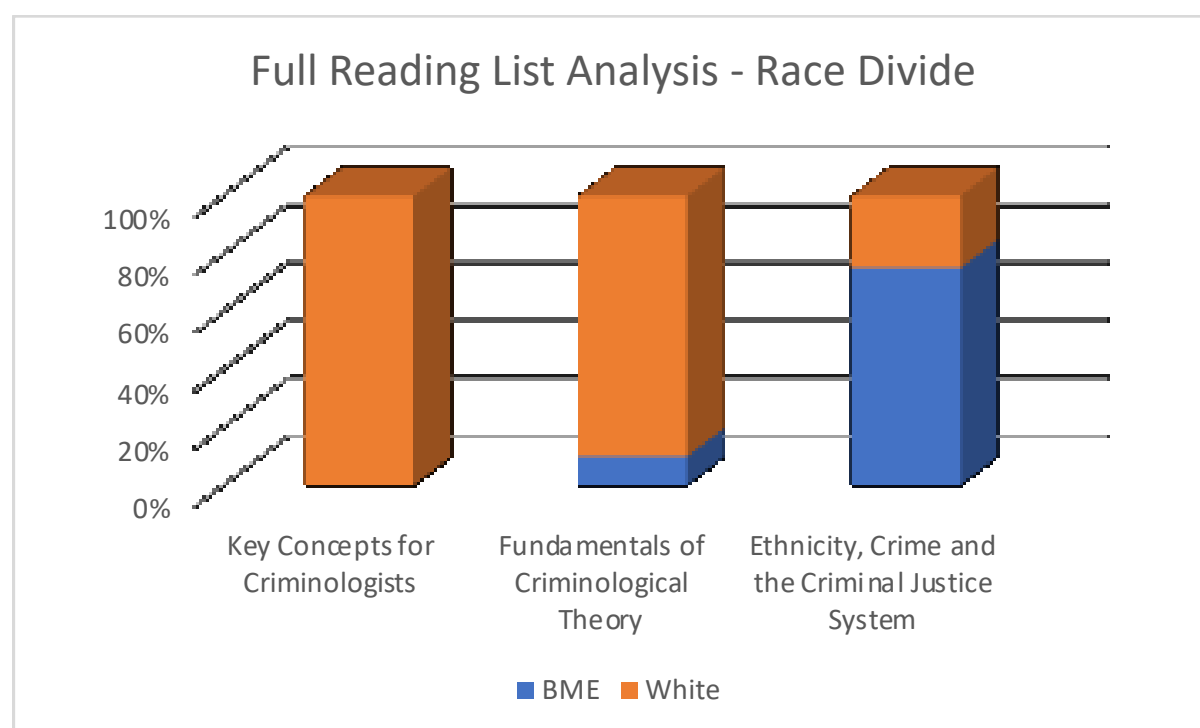
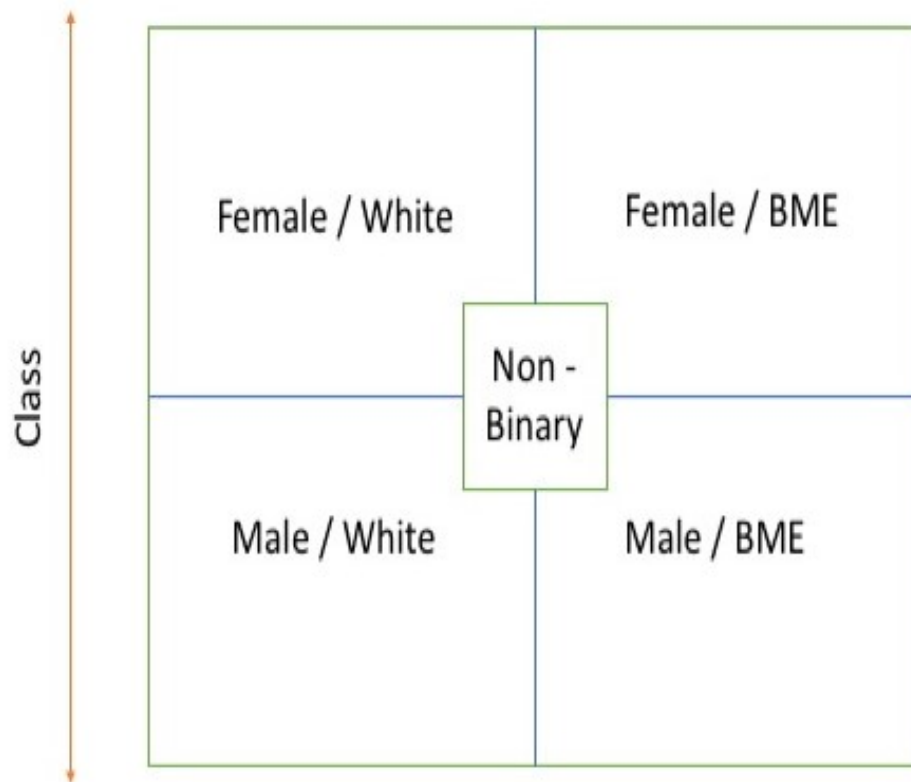


Figure 3: Full Reading List Analysis of Core 1st Year Modules by Race of First Author

Proposing a model for critical information literacy

The second part of this project explored how students engaged with the curriculum. Students were asked as part of their focus group to name any criminologist whose work they had read, or who they knew of from class/peer discussions. These were written on separate ‘post-it’ notes for each author, no further information of categorisation was given. Students were then presented with the ‘intersectionality matrix’ (Figure 4) and were asked to place the post it notes on the framework based on their knowledge or belief of the author’s race, gender, and class. The matrix is designed to highlight intersections of these: therefore, the results from the initial pilot studies showed a significant gap with few students being able to name any female academics, and no female academics of colour. The visualisation of the authorship

from a group of students which clearly sat in the White/Male section of the matrix prompted much discussion and reflection from the students.



1

Figure 4: Intersectionality Matrix

Students were initially surprised – the matrix allows students to experience what was a palpable ‘aha’ moment. Although one third year student was not so surprised:

R: When you look at this, how do you feel about it now that it’s mapped out?

P: Not surprised at all, well not at all, because I know there’s load of female researchers and everything ... just because I do think it all feels it’s dominated by white males or it used to be. The perception of it is that it’s usually white males. Even though there’s a lot of female researchers ... I just think the ones you remember more are the white males, yeah. You don’t really think, you

don't hear of many black researchers; I know that's like ... you don't really hear about them that much. [Focus Group 2, Participant 1]

Students want to be inspired by the work that they read. They want to hear from marginalised voices and understand different viewpoints:

"I'll definitely be looking more into female and more non-binary people... people from different ethnicities 'cause I think that is what could make an assignment a bit more enjoyable... I know that when I hear a female criminologist, I tend to be like 'oh oh female', then it's a bit more inspiring you like want to read up more on it ... in our head it's hard to think of it like this but when it's shown in front of you, you kinda like 'oh ok'. You don't actually understand it until it's shown to you ... apart from doing some research I wouldn't have thought about it... but now looking at it in person I can see that yeah, it's, we need a bit more, uh, variation. [Focus Group 1, Participant 1]

Students were able to see the benefits of using this matrix and understood why it was important to think about the sources they were using when formulating their ideas:

It'd be nice to be able to have different people's opinions and different people's backgrounds in your essays. They might have been through different research and different things. Especially maybe talking about the topic of police or something... a male and female, or a male and non-binary gender would obviously have different experiences... but because we mostly know just white male... criminologists it's hard to get this more broad opinion. [Focus Group 1, Participant 1]

Discussion

Analysis of these criminology reading lists highlights the deep-rooted structural gender and race inequalities facing the discipline. The number of criminology courses is rapidly expanding but our research, although of a small scale, highlights that rather than an opportunity for re-evaluation and revolution a 'traditional' white and masculine curriculum is being put forward – and validated. Therefore, whilst academics may provide a range of texts and reading resources within each module there are few, if any, drivers to produce a diverse curriculum. Worryingly, from the

core texts put forward for validation, it is possible for a student to not encounter one scholarly text with a BME academic as first author until their second year of study. BME works are then largely confined to a single module on 'Ethnicity, Crime and the Criminal Justice System'. The same is true, to a slightly lesser extent, in relation to gender. Few female academics of colour feature across whole the curriculum.

One of the key things this research shows is the importance of 'Gender' and 'Ethnicity' modules. Yet there appears to be a move across some criminology courses to replace, or combine and condense, these. Indeed, arguments for social justice and equality cannot be taught in one 'race' or one 'gender' module but must be embedded across a whole curriculum - individual modules run the risk not only of tokenism but of a 'tick box' approach where race and gender *is* discussed but predominately in a specific module. Whilst a full review of the criminology curricula should have critical information literacy at its heart (and therefore feature a range of voices across the whole criminology programme) there ought to be a genuine concern that the curriculum as it stands does not support this. The range of voices that are required to enable authentic thinking, particularly when considering the variety of context specific topics and experiences inherent to criminology, means that limited diversity within criminology curricula as evidenced from our findings hinders realistic construction of criminological thought.

Yet the inclusion of a range of voices is important for our students. Minni Salami (2015) writing for The Guardian explores student's resistance towards 'their predominantly white, predominantly male curricula', asserting that universities have a fundamental role in shaping ideas and policies; in fostering a culture of justice and equality – but that universities can only do this if they, themselves, are just and equal. Salalmi encourages the reader to consider the power structures of knowledge: one of the specific examples she uses is from criminology, questioning why 'Angela Davis's complex body of work on the social justice system has not influenced contemporary philosophical studies on prisons in the way Michel Foucault's work on the same topic has'. As criminologists we need to address this discrepancy and ensure our curriculum is not biased: yet despite the calls to decolonialise the curriculum and address gender inequalities new criminology courses offer first year core module such as 'Key Concepts for Criminologists' which feature only two

(white) female first author texts, with no BME first author texts. Nearly 93% of the readings given to students on this module are white and male.

Initial feedback from the pilot study highlights that students want to know more about a wider range of voices and experiences and would value a more representative curriculum. Many remarked that they had just never thought about it before, and it was not until readings were mapped on the 'intersectionality matrix' that they could see the disparity, with the authors/academics they named predominately sitting in the white/male category. The 'intersectionality matrix' is therefore a useful pedagogical tool. It provides an opportunity for students to engage with the history and development of ideas and thinkers in relation to their individual histories impacted by socio-economic and political relations of time periods and locations in order to promote interactive and humanised learning.

It is also important to note that the curriculum does not only affect students, but also staff in HE. Jason Arday (2018) talks in detail about his experience of being a black man and navigating the white academy. Similarly, Addison's work explores what kind of identities fit in at work in HE - performances of gender and class are important in higher education, reproducing inequalities in times of austerity and neoliberalism (Addison, 2016). She argues that aspects of identity can be inscribed, resisted, and negotiated by certain people in certain places, helping some to 'get ahead' whilst fixing other people in place as always marginal and a 'detraction' from the competitive HE brand (Addison 2012; 2016). One key element to HE brand is that of impact and influence, something measured by publication in high ranking journals and the citation factors of those publications – as Graham et al's (2019) research shows there is significant disparity in relation to gender. By not being critically engaged with our use of scholarly works in our teaching (and writing) then we are compounding the issues faced by marginalised groups in HE.

Conclusion

Criminology is an academic discipline which largely considers the processes of criminalisation, social control and criminal justice. Although, criminology has an inherent connection to state power due to its subject matter (Garland 1992, 2011), the consequences of this relationship are often problematised and challenged by the

different epistemological strands within the field. Critical thought is constant and imperative to the discipline (Cohen 1988), similarly it is asserted that critical pedagogy and teaching is central to the criminology curriculum (Serrano et al. 2018; Barton et al. 2010). It is argued that the development of a criminological imagination (Barton et al. 2006; Mills 1959) is vital to ensure that criminology students can consider subject matter effectively. Through critical pedagogy and teaching the criminological imagination is enabled which supports students to recognise and counteract powerful narratives, relating to race, class, and gender hierarchies, which influence social problems and injustices by promoting marginalisation of voices (Barton et al. 2010; Barton et al. 2006; Freire 1970). In so doing, the critical criminological imagination supports students to become empowered to work against the oppression of themselves and others, as well as developing useful transferable skills (Ellsworth 1992; Redhawk Love 2008).

The increased scope of criminology's subject matter, and its growth at universities across the UK, provides vast potential for the further development of criminology curriculum and its approach to teaching and learning in opposition to the difficulties brought by the contemporary commodified HE context (Hoyle and Bosworth 2011). Application of critical pedagogy and teaching within the discipline through a curriculum which is representative of the multiple and intersecting voices that exist in relation to criminological matters fundamentally supports the pursuit of social justice (Hoyle and Bosworth 2011). This is important to the discipline, the current socio-economic and political character of contemporary society, and to criminology students' development to become informed and active citizens.

Working towards a more international, diverse, and representative curriculum is key to the development of critical thought and the pursuit of social justice. Particularly in the case of criminology diversity and authenticity in the curriculum provides increased opportunity for students from all backgrounds to engage with content creatively enabling understanding, awareness, passion, and 'authentic thinking' to dynamically develop (Freire 1970: 50). Development of diversity and intersectionality within the criminology curriculum can speak to the need to counteract the reproduction of harmful discourses and processes which often exist within both criminology and HE. By building on existing action to encourage critical representative inquiry among criminology students through curriculum content, the

discipline's current endeavours to counteract problematic structures could significantly increase.

Many academics have called for increased attention to be given to the varying voices and perspectives within the criminology curriculum. Yet findings from this research indicate that endemic structural issues go beyond the institution: new criminology courses are neglecting, and hindered from, utilising the opportunity to design their new curriculum with intersectionality, representativeness, and innovation at heart. A critical pedagogic approach informed by the inclusion of multiple voices can reduce tokenistic sentiments which often exist in the curriculum, and further act towards preventing the curriculum from enabling problematic and harmful discourses about crime, punishment, justice and oppressed social groups to be continually reproduced (Christie 1977:1, 2010; Hoyle and Bosworth 2011). Intersectional and critical pedagogy and teaching (Case 2016; Freire 1970; Berger and Guidroz 2009) to strengthen social justice in HE and criminology drive this research and our position. The research serves as a starting point to examine our curricula, and to encourage our students to critically engage with the sources they use. It is only from this point that we can begin to change ideas in order to act against oppression - as Freire (1970) argues this is not only about conscientization itself but meaningful practice.

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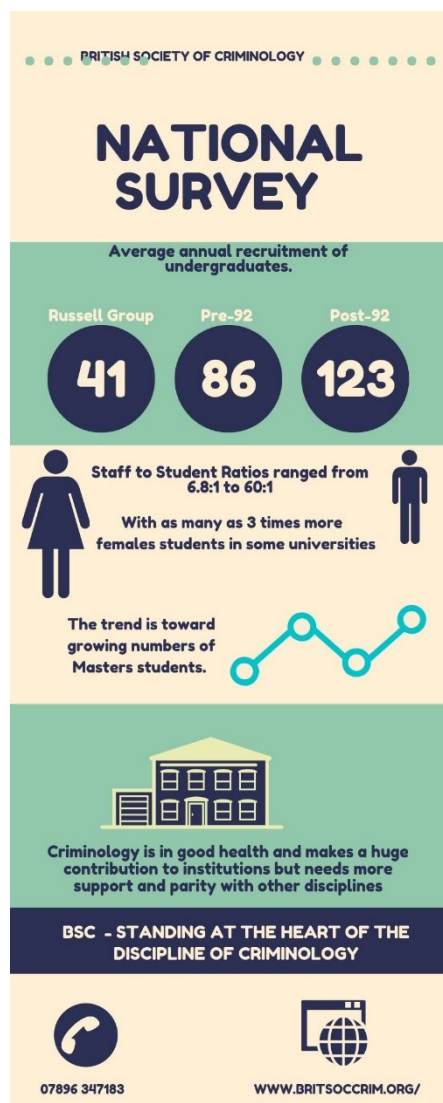
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How Criminology is Taught and Researched Today

Charlotte Harris, Helen Jones and Peter Squires

This report presents the findings from a national survey on criminology teaching and research in the UK, undertaken by the British Society of Criminology (BSC) during 2018/9.



Introduction

We canvassed universities across the UK to gather information about how criminology is taught and researched today. As a discipline, we have experienced twenty-five years of rapid expansion - especially in the area of undergraduate teaching provision - and much of that growth has been in the 'post-92' universities. 108 Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) offered criminology courses in 2018 (The Complete University Guide, 2019) but there had been no 'census' of criminology since Paul Rock's in 1986 (reported in Rock, 1988) and the Society felt that establishing an up-to-date sense of where criminology is practised, how it is practised and the conditions under which it is delivered, and how it is changing and developing, would provide a usable evidence base to enable it to more effectively represent the discipline and its membership. We felt that the relatively fast-paced change of higher education, the increased marketisation of HE provision (Molesworth et al., 2011; McGettigan, 2013; Collini, 2017), the competition for student numbers, employability pressures, the contrasting demands of the REF, TEF (see below) and KEF and the renewed

uncertainties regarding student fees and university funding (Independent Panel, 2019) underpinned the need to better understand the context in which our subject is practised and delivered.

Disciplining the subject?

We use the term 'discipline' here deliberately, although we are aware of the debate, and the particular history, of criminology as a 'rendezvous discipline' (Downes, 1988), in which criminology, to employ Jock Young's words, sits at 'the busy crossroads of sociology, psychology, law and philosophy' (2003: 97). For our present purposes, an academic discipline can be simply defined as a branch of knowledge that is taught and researched as a subject within the Academy.

Criminology has its own journals, textbooks, professorships, learned societies and academic courses of study (Bowling and Ross, 2006); for over a dozen years it has had its own QAA subject-discipline benchmarks (QAA, 2019); and it creates its own fields of knowledge and programmes of research. This contrasts markedly with the years before 1935, a time when, according to Garland, 'criminology as a professional academic discipline ... did not exist in Britain' (Garland, 1988: 1). He continues that although the subject 'was established only gradually and precariously thereafter', it was firmly situated 'within the institutional practices and power relations' of criminal justice and confined to an *a priori* and epistemologically-restricted conception of crime or criminality (ibid). At times, the Home Office itself invested heavily, albeit selectively, in criminology, as the record of the Home Office Research Unit during the 1960s and 70s shows. Subsequently, large scale or programme funding has been made available to a number of select university centres of criminology, although the work has tended to reflect the more policy-led or 'administrative' end of the criminological spectrum (Downes, 1988; Bowling and Ross, 2006).

Since then, of course, as studies of 'criminalisation', zemiology, 'denial' and the 'state/power nexus' might illustrate, the discipline has finally escaped the shadows of the prison (to adapt a Foucauldian metaphor). Notably, as Garland acknowledges, it was precisely the appointment of three distinguished academic émigrés - Hermann Mannheim, Max Grünhut, and Leon Radzinowicz - to posts at elite British universities that gave British criminology the academic impetus to become an independent discipline (ibid.). This is the wider story of criminology's magpie-like tendency to steal good ideas from wherever it may find them, and it is this that has given the subject its extraordinary dynamism, drawing in new practitioners, researchers, theorists and students. And, as Bowling and Ross have noted, 'the growing number of criminology professionals (working in universities, research institutes and in the criminal justice system itself), together with the increasing numbers of specialised postgraduate and undergraduate criminology courses, *entrenches the awareness of criminology as a discipline in its own right*' (2006: 2, emphasis added)

In the 21st century, no discipline (natural or social) can be independent or one-dimensional. Criminology is an interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, applied, social and

behavioural science. We may not have a completely independent body of knowledge, but we are little different in this regard from many other applied social sciences. The REF may be structured in a discipline format, yet every assessment panel seems to celebrate ‘interdisciplinarity’. Jock Young took this ‘blurring of intellectual boundaries’ to insist that criminology ‘is *not* and can never be a substantive subject in its own right’ (Young, 2003: 98). His stated rationale was that ‘criminology exists outside of the talk of the criminologists’ (ibid) and while we might concur that there is much ‘*crime* talk’ outside criminology, we are less convinced that this is always so criminologically informed. There is undoubtedly much news media discourse about crime (fact, fiction and ‘docu-drama’), there is the popular ‘true crime’ publishing genre and, closer to academia, there are crime science, police studies, and even security studies, all of them allied with, but not the same as, criminology. To a large extent, it was precisely such a proliferation of ‘crime talk’ that helped prompt (if not to settle) a debate about the potential public role of criminology (Loader and Sparks, 2011).

Such issues bear upon our survey and our discussion of its findings but they do not restrict or limit that discussion. Yet it is undeniable that in the UK universities of 2019 there are far more practitioners, researchers and students of criminology than at any previous time and, as our survey reveals, this strength has provided the foundation for the rich diversity of themes, specialisms and perspectives embraced by contemporary criminology.

The survey

The survey that was developed was sent to identified individuals (often BSC members, who we hoped might be more enthusiastic about completing the survey) with expertise in criminology at UK HEIs where criminology is taught, via an online self-completion tool using Smart Survey, in 2018. Its development was informed by a scoping phase, with key stakeholders including the BSC’s Learning and Teaching Network, involving key issues and question area suggestion, individual question testing and pilots of the entire survey.

We chose to adopt a mixed method survey format. Some of the information we asked for was quantitative: how many criminology students (undergraduate, postgraduate - taught or research) are there at your institution; are these single or joint-honours; how many staff; what kind of Student Staff Ratios (SSRs) exist (especially as compared with other disciplines⁷); how are workloads (class contact hours etc.) established; how much research time is available and how is it allocated?

⁷ An important comparison was being made here with the British Psychological Society’s accreditation of undergraduate psychology degrees. Accreditation brings recognition for prior learning for students who go on to take professional courses in aspects of psychology, but accreditation requires universities to maintain SSRs at or below 20:1, a rather advantageous ratio compared to that achieved by many criminology undergraduate courses, as the survey later reveals.

Some of the information we asked for was more personal, we wanted to capture colleagues' insights about teaching criminology in their particular HEI and how they felt about the broader development of the discipline: What kinds of criminology are taught; what might be the unique selling point (USP) for the criminology course(s) offered at a particular HEI; are there any distinctive aspects to particular undergraduate taught programmes (such as topics covered, placements, work experience, projects, study abroad, links with criminal justice agencies and inter-disciplinarity). Finally, because we wanted to know how criminologists related to the BSC, how the BSC might support their work, what use was made of BSC facilities and opportunities (and what more the BSC might do), we posed a series of questions about the extent to which colleagues were able to play a role in the Society and its Regional Groups and Networks. It is vital to an academic career to be able to teach, research and also join and take an active role in a professional association by participating as a member, organising events or acting as reviewers or editors for a research journal.

Some of our questions were more qualitatively conceived: these were intended to get some sense of perceptions of present and future course and research developments, curriculum changes, workloads, promotions, opportunities and so on. Furthermore, we were interested in gathering attitudes concerning the future of criminology on issues such as collaboration, engagement and impact, relationships with criminal justice agencies – including the Home Office, Police and Ministry of Justice - professional groups, campaign groups, and the range of issues pertaining to the aforementioned 'public criminology' agenda. How might the BSC assist in any of these areas of activity?

The range of questions was designed to gather information on a number of contextual features relating to both research and teaching and the links between them to establish the baseline working conditions of the community while attempting to ensure - through the different types of question - that all respondents were able to respond as they wished and address their concerns in a way relevant to them.

Ethical considerations

The research proposal and survey were scrutinised by members of the BSC ethics sub-committee, and as agreed, all information gathered has been anonymised and treated with confidentiality recognising the commercial sensitivity of some aspects. No information relating to any individual or institution, or allowing any institution or individual to be identified, has been published in this report or communicated to third parties. No raw data was shared with third parties. The purpose of the survey was to obtain a picture of criminology *as a whole* across the UK, not criminology as delivered in particular institutions.

We arranged the questions into sections in order to organise what was quite a lengthy survey into manageable chunks and create a running order that would

hopefully make sense to the user. In Section 1, we concentrated on the institutional context, asking who was responding to the survey; what diversity there was in the criminology workforce; what proportion of staff had HEA accreditation and regarding staffing levels and SSRs. We also asked about the organisation of criminology teaching and research; what levels of staff research activity there was and what contact colleagues had with criminal justice agencies, professional groups, and campaign organisations? This latter point again indicates the richness of an academic career that goes beyond teaching and research.

In Section 2, we focused on teaching: we asked about undergraduate courses and the recruitment of undergraduate students. Questions concerned the student profile, class contact hours, perceived strengths of programmes and unique selling points. We asked about types of teaching delivery, assessment and feedback employed. Echoing BSC member John Martyn Chamberlain elsewhere, we wanted to discover 'how we are going to ensure that we educate our future crime scholars and practitioners so that they possess the thinking and research skills necessary to engage in critical forms of citizenship under the complex socio-political and ideological conditions associated with 'late-modernity' (Chamberlain, 2015), and how issues such as employability and criminology-related careers were handled. We also asked about Masters courses, postgraduate changes, and the use of QAA benchmarks in course design and levels of engagement thus far with the TEF.

Section 3 turned to research. We were interested to hear how research was organised and, especially, how it was funded; what opportunities there were for postgraduate research students, or even undergraduate involvement in local projects. We asked about specific datasets that were used, about colleagues' involvement in REF2014, and what was likely to be the degree of involvement in REF2021.

The results

Section 1 - institutional context

Who responded to the survey?

Completed surveys were received back from institutions in all four countries of the UK, from representatives in Post-92 universities, Pre-92 universities and Russell Group universities.

Total number of surveys returned = 114⁸

Partial = 61

Completed = 53

⁸ This number is greater than the number of surveys sent out as some respondents submitted a partial completion before going on to submit a completed one.

Of the fully completed surveys, 42 responses were submitted by BSC members and 11 by non-BSC members.

Diversity and the criminology workforce

Diversity recognises that, though people have things in common with each other, they are also different in many ways. Across the higher education sector, inclusion sees those differences as beneficial to all (Green and Young, 2019; Hays et al., 2015), as a higher education sector without diversity might struggle to generate new ideas or perspectives. Through this survey, we tried to take a snapshot of the diversity that exists within criminology.

Gender: 32 responding units indicated that they were comprised of a minimum of 50% female criminological teaching or research staff. No responding units recorded non-binary staff.

Ethnicity: 17 responding units identified staff of Asian ethnicities, but only in four cases was this more than a single criminologist. Eight responding units identified black colleagues, but again, the majority referred only to a single colleague. Ten responses identified mixed race colleagues.

EU/Global origins: With the exception of two departments who identified 50% or more of their colleagues as having non-British EU origins, the percentage of EU origin criminology colleagues tended to range around 15-20% of staff teams. Criminologists from the 'rest of the world' numbered only one or two in most responding units (amounting to 5-10% of the staffing team) and just as many indicated no 'rest of world' colleagues as identified more than 10%.

Declaring a disability: Only seven returns referred to (usually individual) colleagues who had some disability declared. This could be an under recording as many disabilities would not necessarily be known to the person filling out the survey.

HEA accreditation

34 responses described at least 50% of their staff as having an HEA qualification, with 24 indicating that 75% of their staff team were so qualified. This is an indication, perhaps, of the relatively recent staffing growth in criminology.

Staffing levels and SSRs

Within and across sectors there was found a large variation in staffing resources.

Typical number of criminology staff

Sector	Min	Max	Mean
Post-92	1	43	12.6
Pre-92	2	21	8.67
Russell Group	4	34	16

Table 1 Institutions with undergraduate students

Across the whole survey, the Student to Staff Ratio (SSR) provides some insight into staffing resources. A department's SSR is a measure of the staffing levels in relation to how many students it has. This forms just one of the measures that HESA (Higher Education Statistics Agency) compiles but because HESA does not yet recognise criminology as a discipline⁹, data is not available from them. When reading our survey results, where we found anomalous figures, respondents were given a further opportunity to check for any errors.

Of those institutions with undergraduate students, the SSR ranged from 6.82 to 60. This latter figure, whilst remarkable, has been double checked and is accurate.



Chart 1: Criminology SSR. Note: outlier data has been excluded.

The top ten institutions with the lowest SSRs (ranging from 6.82 to 19.88) included two Russell Group institutions, four Pre-92 institutions and four Post-92 institutions. The mean figure across all surveyed institutions is 34. Those institutions with a higher SSR than the mean included four Pre-92 institutions, 13 Post-92 institutions and no Russell Group institutions.

A comparison between universities in different sectors, but from the same geographical locations, is illustrative of the different demands on staff.

⁹ This, of course, forms part of our original rationale for this survey. Non-recognition of criminology as a distinct subject (despite its recent growth) in HESA, the REF or the TEF, militates against the proper assessment of teaching and research quality by rendering criminological contributions invisible, subsumed within law, sociology or social and public policy, for example. See:

<https://www.thecompleteuniversityguide.co.uk/league-tables/rankings#allSubjects>

Charts 2, 3 & 4- Geographical comparison



And where we see increasing numbers of students (predominantly in the Post-92 sector), this brings demands additional to teaching. As one Post-92 staff member commented:

It is the pastoral and administrative aspects of the role that take all my time. People who study criminology are often interested in it for a reason and this tends to bring more complex needs. One day in my 'Violent Crime' module, I had 5 disclosures of significant violent victimisation. I regularly have sexual abuse or domestic violence disclosures. This is dealt with poorly by the institution and criminology students are the majority users of our counselling service (I have been informally told this). The pastoral work does not get any recognition but takes a long time, even with our very strict boundaries and attempts to limit disclosures. (Identifier: 77649654)

Organising criminology teaching and research

There are a range of organising structures within all sectors. 46% of responses referred to 'large' departments of ten or more colleagues (indeed, nine responses cited more than 15+ FTE staff) while 54% had fewer than 10 staff (12 units declared figures of less than 5 staff). Across all sectors, the average number of colleagues in a criminology teaching and research team was 12. Working in a team of peers is important to most disciplines within a university setting yet the mere existence of criminology teams can mask important aspects of the work conducted by those teams within other teams. As one respondent noted:

[My] departmental finances rely on criminology school talks, applicant days, international exchanges and summer schools. These activities do not happen in the other disciplines (either at all or to the same extent) yet those other disciplines have staff student ratios of around 15:1. One course even has a staff student ratio of 7:1. So criminology may be a victim of its own success in newer institutions. (Identifier: 77649654)

In some institutions, these criminology staff are co-located with other social science staff, some in law departments and some others in business schools.

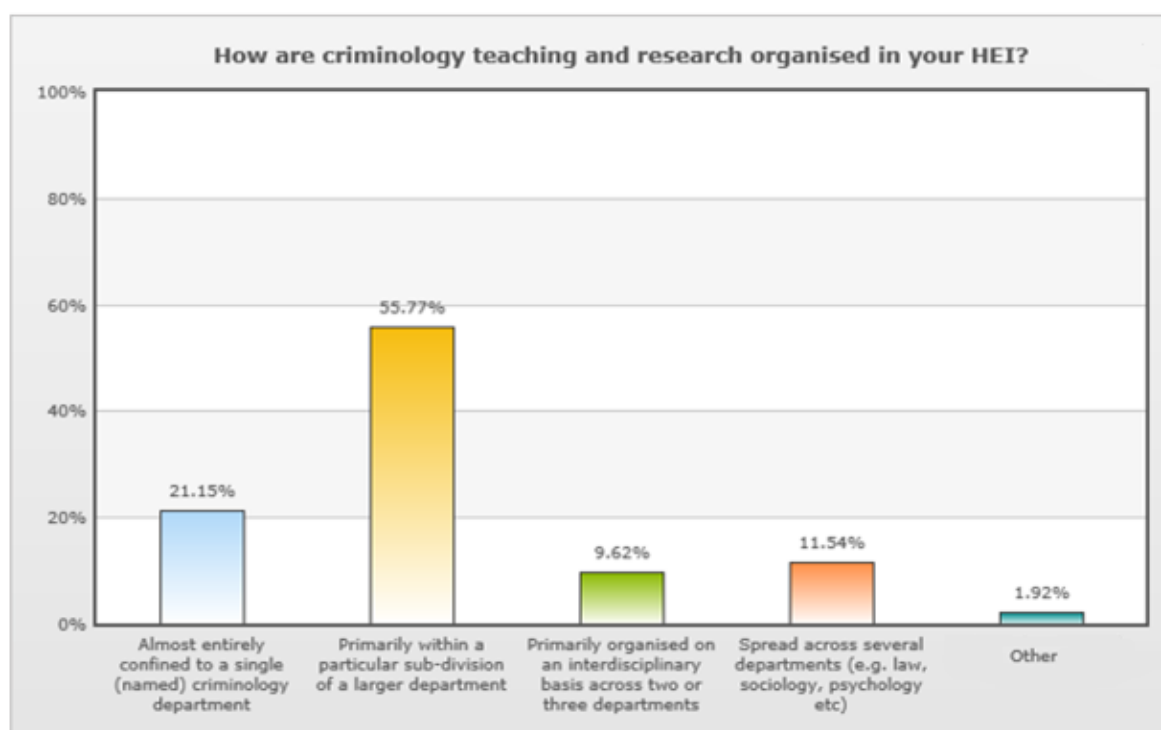


Chart 5 - All responses. Note: outlier data has been excluded.

While over three-quarters of all respondents indicated a single criminology department or a distinct sub-division, almost a quarter indicated that teaching was spread across two or more departments. Indeed, this latter arrangement is more obvious in Russell Group universities, and the following comments from two different Russell Group institutions are typical:

One department dominates, but at least three offer criminological courses. Staff from different departments also teach on each other's courses. (Identifier: 72490298)

We teach across Law, Human, Social and Political Sciences and Psychology and Behavioural Sciences at the undergraduate level. (Identifier: 83509164)

So, fragmentation remains a feature, despite criminology having its own QAA disciplinary benchmarks for teaching. Indeed, in the last REF, when there was no designated sub-panel, criminology found itself submitted to at least one sub panel in

each of the four main panels from Social Work and Social Policy via Psychology, Psychiatry and Neuroscience and Mathematical Science to History, Communication, Cultural and Media Studies (unpublished research conducted by BSC from online REF 2014 databases, and used to inform the BSC response to the '2021 REF' consultation). This is not because criminology does not have disciplinary rigour or a clear identity (as previously highlighted, over three-quarters of all respondents indicated a single criminology department or a distinct sub-division) but rather it reflects how useful criminology has been in attracting student recruitment from a range of diverse backgrounds. Whereas some disciplines only recruit students who have A level attainment in their discipline, UCAS requirements for criminology take a more expansive approach. The same certainly applies in respect of research income: 'The total amount of external research income received by HEIs submitting to SP 20 during the REF period was £74.8 million ... Criminology and Criminal justice often provided the main source of research to generate external income' (REF 2014 Main Panel C Summary Report p.75).

Staff Research Activity

Of the returns answering the question about (self-defined) 'research active' staff, over half of all responses describe 75% of their colleagues as being research active. Most respondents described at least some of their colleagues as research active. The percentage of staff that were deemed to be 'REF-able' (pre 2021) was higher in Russell Group and Pre-92 universities than in Post-92 universities (96%, 81%, 61% respectively). The finding raises important questions about the respective missions of different universities and their differing takes on the notion of 'research-led' or research-informed teaching. But it also raises issues about the resourcing of research, the time available to staff and the types of research actually undertaken. We addressed these concerns earlier, particularly regarding the policy-led funding streams of earlier years, and what Downes provocatively referred to as the 'stranglehold on the subject by the orthodox criminology of the South East' (Downes, 1988: 47). The source of funding can shape the type of research undertaken, of especial note in the past decade has been the explosion of new and critical criminologies in the newer universities, very little of it sustained by substantial funding sources (see the later discussion and charts 20 and 21).

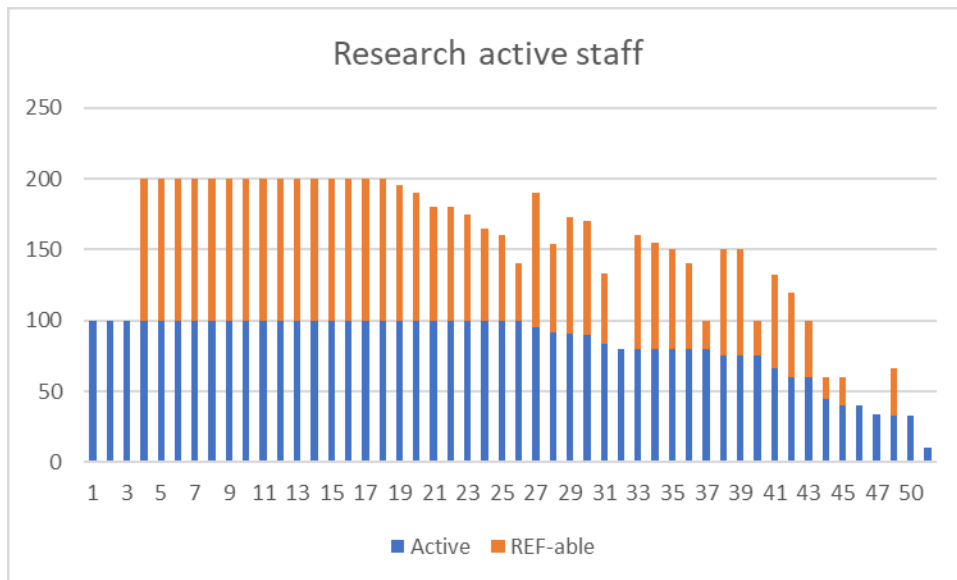


Chart 6 Research active staff and REF. Note: outlier data has been excluded.

Contact with criminal justice agencies, professional groups, and campaign groups

Criminology is a publicly-facing discipline offering insight into the social and political controversies of the day, whether as media experts, policy advisors, governmental actors, or social movement theorists. These are valuable; some might say essential, aspects of a public criminology. Nearly all responding to the survey replied that they have contact with outside agencies, from hosting visiting guest speakers, to an array of opportunities for students within both the formal agencies of the criminal justice system, across the voluntary and charitable sectors, and from the local to the global. There was a fascinating insight into the interplay between research and teaching, and how each can enhance the other.

Staff research interests feed into teaching in several ways and local community links provide a wealth of knowledge of the diversity of career opportunities that exist for our future criminal justice professionals.

Excellent connections with [county] Constabularies and appropriate PCCs. Excellent links with local Youth Offending Service, CPS and Courts (Magistrate & Crown). Funded research and postgraduate teaching has been funded by PCCs, [county] Constabularies and [county] Youth Offending Service. (Identifier: 73155931)

Police [national], [national] Prisons Service, Violence Reduction Unit, PIRC, Children's Panel/Hearing System, Community Safety [local], Victim Support, Rape Crisis, Local Authority (various Departments), Secure Units for Young People. (Identifier: 79980233)

When asked about international relationships and collaborations, 80% of respondents left comments about the international work of colleagues:

Yes, several colleagues have international research collaborations that are ongoing at the moment. Others have strong links that lead to international visits etc. We also have partnerships with 3 international institutions that allow our undergrads to spend a year studying in one of these places (one EU, one Canada, and one Australia). (Identifier: 73145689)

We are currently providing teaching and research activity across India. We are also involved in teaching collaboration within the USA, Canada and Australia, as well as areas in Europe. We conduct research across the UK, Europe, and Australia. (Identifier: 80048492)

Fifty percent of all respondents left a comment about the issue of 'Impact'. The concept of 'Impact' has an important role in the REF process, but whilst criminologists acknowledged this, and insisted that the concept is gaining in importance as we get closer to the next REF, they frequently made the point that it does not define research or teaching decisions. Another point that came across strongly through these comments (notwithstanding earlier observations about the essential synergy between research and teaching) is that institutional support is often patchy at best and in some areas, research is seen as a 'luxury extra' rather than an essential component of university activity.

We try so far as possible to do our research for its own sake. If it has 'impact' so much the better, but rarely is it the case that we choose particular research studies because of potential impact. (Identifier: 72490298)

There is lots of support within the School and University for planning and delivering impact activities. It is encouraged and supported - and also expected. This does not affect teaching directly - although we are encouraged to use our own research to inform teaching wherever possible. (Identifier: 73145689)

This is beginning to assume a larger role in all teaching and research, and is now considered at the outset for every research grant. We are at a much earlier stage in shaping teaching around this. (Identifier: 80683300)

There is an increasing steer towards the REF interpretation of impact and this is now being fed more into internal funding decisions. (Identifier: 76926377)

Nearly all our activities are highly orientated to achieving impact. The major rationale for establishing our department was to achieve impact. Members of the department are wedded to working in ways whose impact is to reduce crime, terrorism and crime-related harms. (Identifier: 78206010)

My research has been selected as a case study, but I get no extra time or resources for this so it is all done as extra despite being under pressure to deliver. Impact is not discussed with any of my other colleagues. (Identifier: 77649654)

Teaching loads have grown, research opportunities are more limited, research time allowances (research days), even for research active staff, have been taken away, and instead staff are encouraged to bid, competitively to regain this time. While considerations of impact remain a feature of research outcomes they are less prominently profiled, less effectively pursued and less well achieved. The university has undergone a significant change of strategic direction, which has had profound consequences for research time and research outcomes like 'impact'. (Identifier: 83207367)

The comments expose a fairly mixed picture of support for research, for the fortunes of research-led teaching and for the ways in which national agendas, such as research 'impact', affect staff workloads and activities. With more qualitative comments we could, without compromising anonymity and institutional affiliation, group the comments more systematically. For the moment we can simply note that the balances struck between research and teaching seem rather uneven and the opportunities unevenly distributed.

We have already acknowledged the debate about 'criminology as a discipline – (or not)'. As the body representing criminology in the UK, we were interested to uncover how staff described their own criminology.

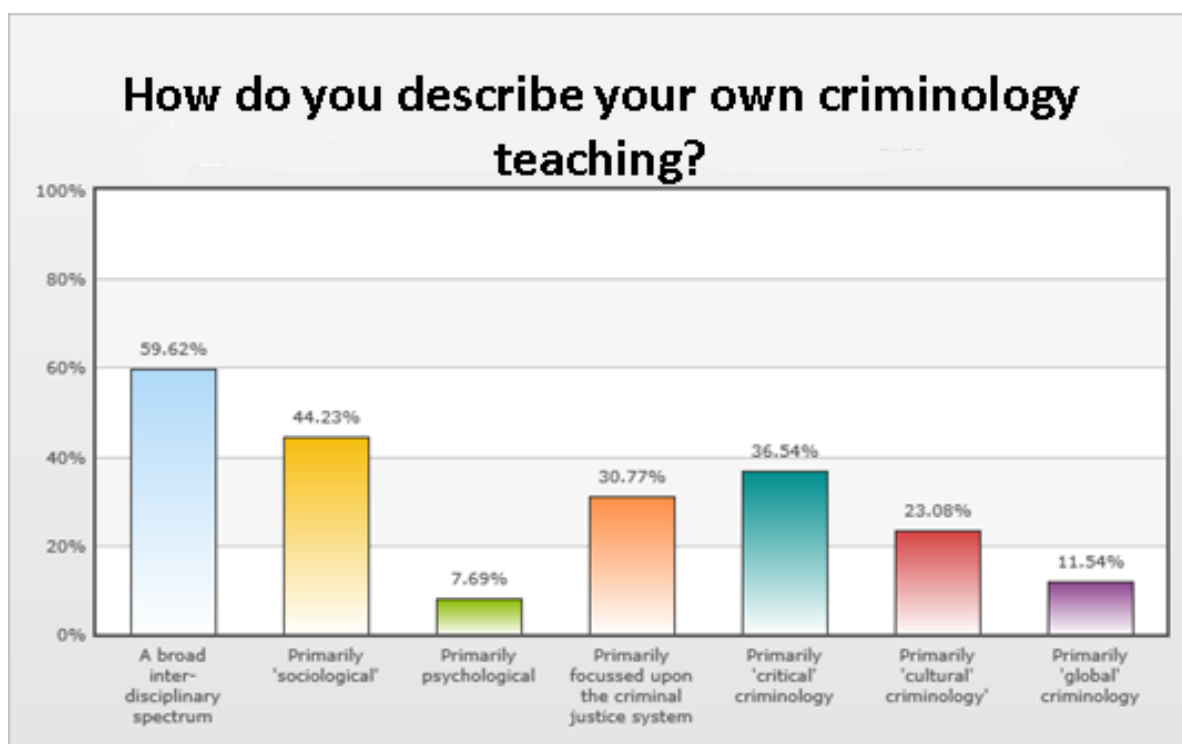


Chart 6 Descriptions of teaching.

A large number of respondents cited involvement by their team in BSC events/regional groups/networks and/or committees. However, there is a perception that the BSC is still an English association: 'I'm not aware of [many] events having been organised with the BSC badge on them' (non-English respondent Identifier: 79980233). However, a significant number of respondents cited time constraints and too many other demands on their time to allow them to get involved: 'BSC, ASC and ESC activities all demand time - and that is the one thing in short supply'. (Identifier: 83509164)

We asked if there were any knowledge or skills gaps amongst criminology staff or students and across all sectors and the key response was methods training generally and quantitative research skills specifically. Also highlighted, as a staff training need, was the development of skills around blended learning techniques and online delivery.

We also wanted to know about wider challenges, as this has impact on the time staff have available to engage in skills development.

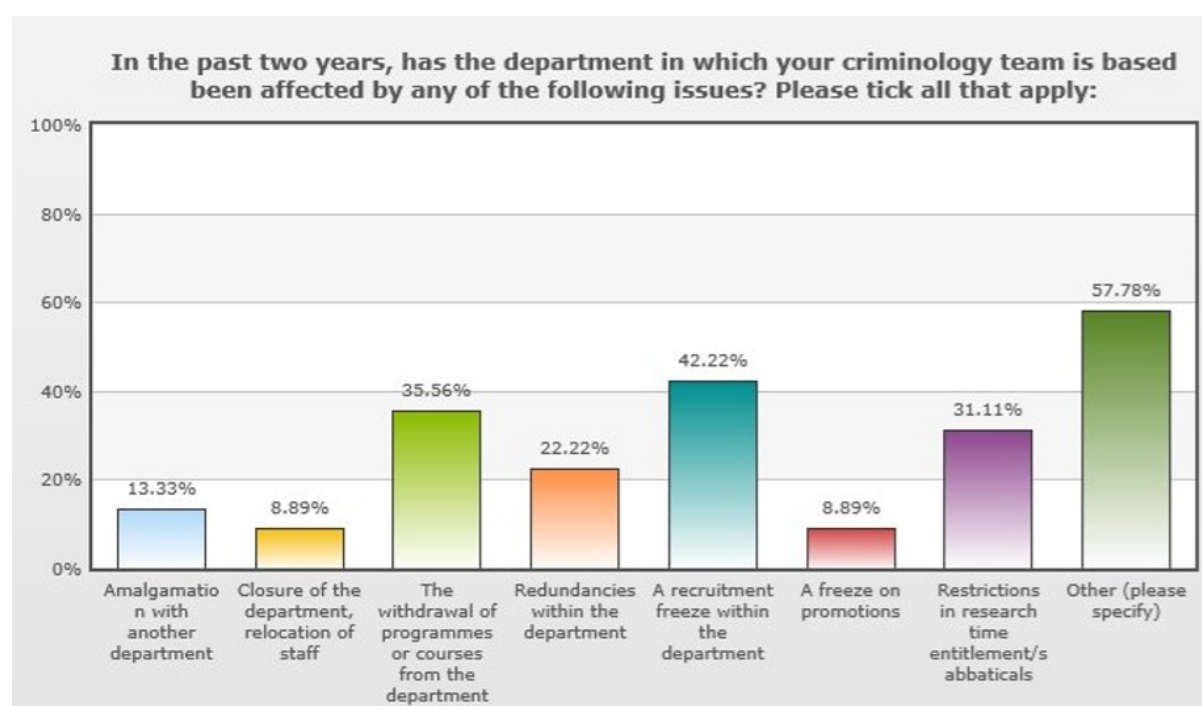


Chart 7 Past impacts.

Some of the comments accompanying these responses highlight the pressure some criminology staff are under:

The recruitment freeze isn't official, but we are not allowed more staff despite having a student/staff ratio of over 50:1. (Identifier: 77649654)

Increase in administration tasks as central resources are reduced. Increase in personal academic tutoring demands. Increase in mental health support. (Identifier: 72586160)

But it is not all bad news as other respondents report good levels of support: 'we are growing rapidly and are well supported within the university' (Identifier: 77661932). When asked to look ahead two years, most staff were optimistic, with the biggest threat being the potential for restrictions in research time entitlement/sabbaticals.

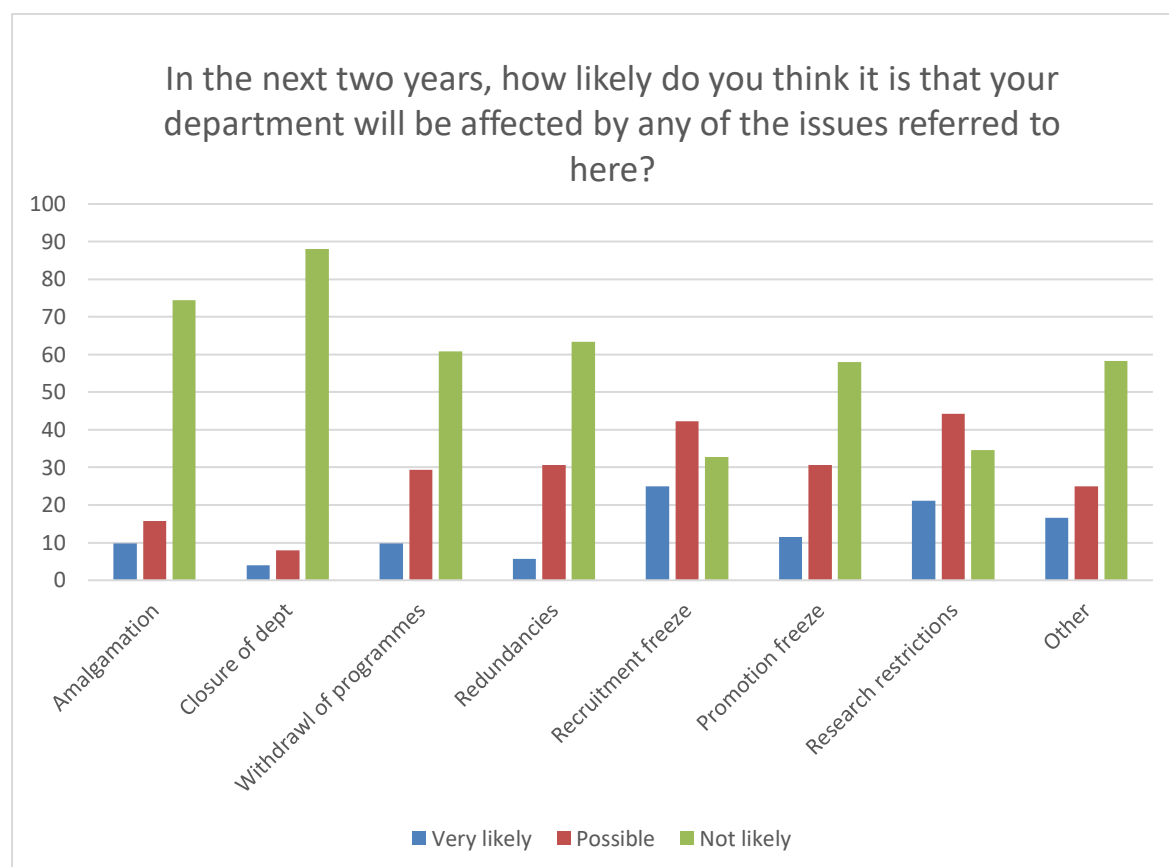
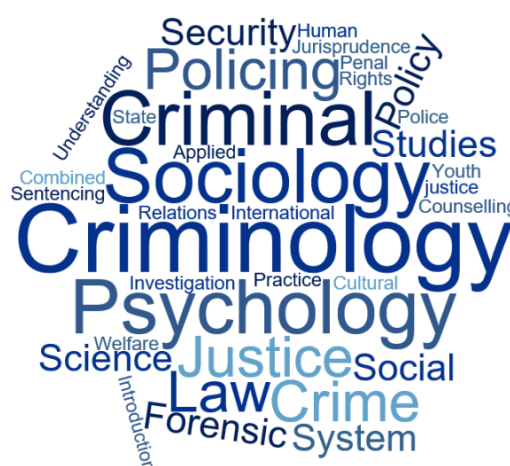


Chart 8 Future fears.

Section 2 Teaching

Undergraduate courses

124 titles of undergraduate courses/programmes were submitted in the survey. They included Foundation degrees, BA, BSc and LLB. The word cloud provides a representation of the most frequently used words to describe the courses offered under the broad umbrella of criminology and criminal justice. The larger the word, the more often it is used in a degree title. A brief glance indicates the most frequently used definers.



Word Cloud 1

Interestingly, there are pairings of criminology with a range of diverse subjects that are not mentioned here. Combinations can be viewed via UCAS and include criminology with archaeology, and with various languages. <https://www.ucas.com/>

Recruitment of undergraduate students

Section one of this report did some comparison of SSRs but here we look at the range of recruitment across the sector. Across the survey, the mean annual recruitment (FTE Single Hons, Joint Hons, Maj/Min and Part-Time) was 101 FTE students recruited per year. But as Chart 9 shows, this masks a wide variation across the sector.

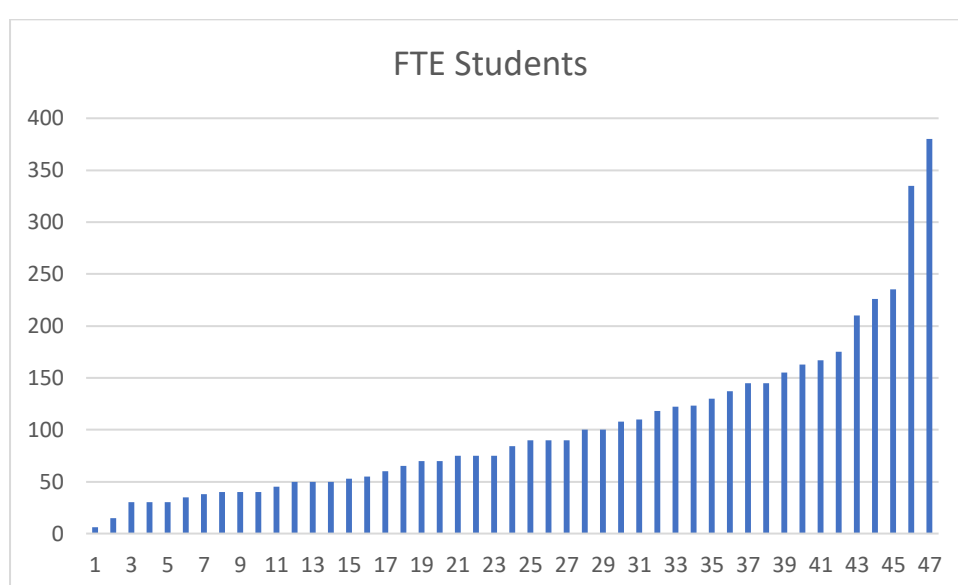


Chart 9 FTE students recruited per year

Further analysis revealed a large variation across specific sectors.

Russell Group – mean average 41

Pre-92 – mean average 86

Post-92 – mean average 123

We also asked if respondents had seen a change in the number of undergraduate students studying criminology since the increase in student fees in 2012. Chart 10 shows the largest proportion of those surveyed had seen a rise or a sustained expansion of student recruitment. Of those who reported falling numbers, they fell equally between the Pre- and Post-92 sectors: none of the Russell group sector saw falling numbers.

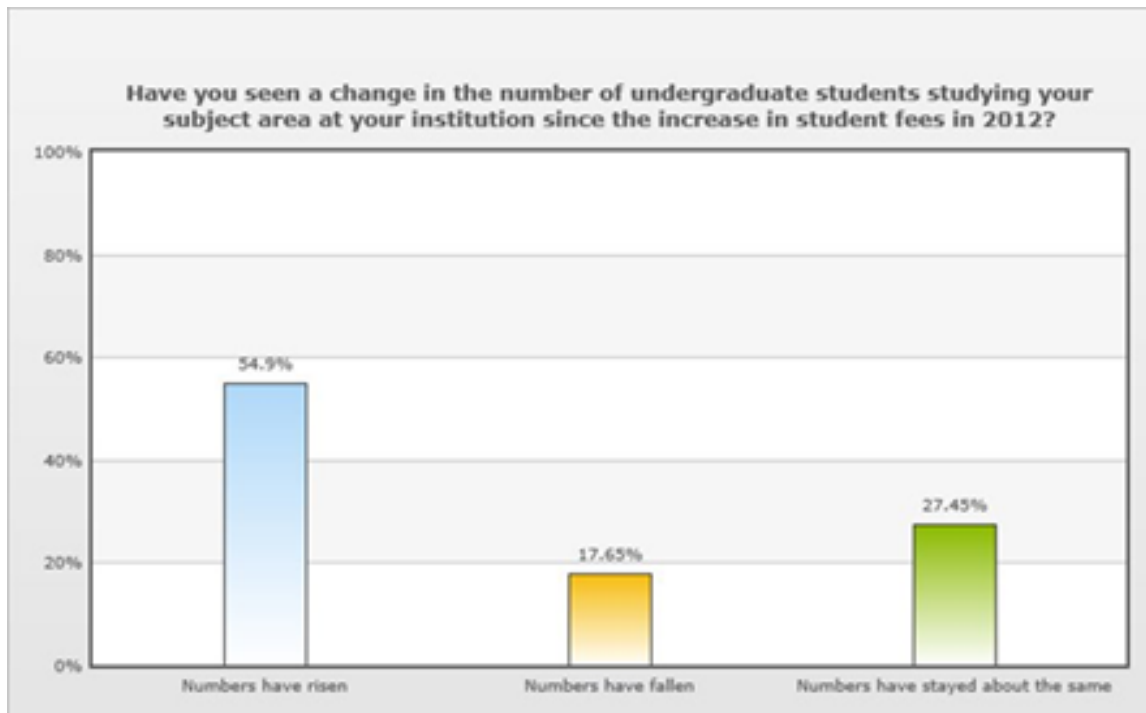


Chart 10 Changes in student numbers.

Student profile

Mature Students: With the exception of a small number of institutions with a large number of mature students, an overwhelming majority of those institutions answering the question identified 10% or fewer of their undergraduate students as 'mature' students (over 21).

Gender: Forty institutions reported on the gender composition of their undergraduate criminology student cohorts. Interestingly, all bar two responses (which claimed roughly equal numbers) described overwhelmingly female course memberships. Two thirds of the responses outlined course memberships where female students outnumbered male students by more than 3 to 1.

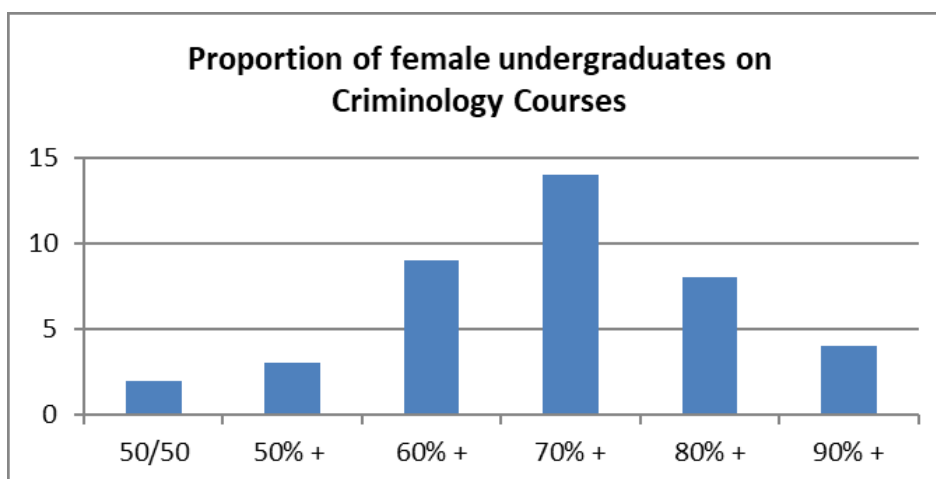


Chart 11 Female students studying Criminology

BAME Criminology Students: Figures relating to the number of criminology undergraduates with BAME origins studying at different HEIs showed wide variation. Approximately a quarter of our responses suggested fewer than 10% of their course members were from BAME backgrounds whereas a further quarter of the responses revealed BAME student course membership ratios exceeding 40%. Perhaps unsurprisingly, high rates of BAME students were found in HEIs in major cities and conurbations, London especially and the West Midlands.

Students from the EU and beyond: Figures relating to the number of criminology undergraduates from the EU were minimal, but our responses suggested no more than 10% of course members were from the EU and this number was similar for those reporting student numbers from outside the EU.

Class contact

We asked how many hours of staff 'class contact' (lectures, seminars, tutorials) is typical for full-time colleagues per week.

In the post-92 sector, there is a national workload agreement which stipulates that formal scheduled teaching responsibilities should not exceed 18 hours in any one week or a maximum of 550 hours in the teaching year. Teaching responsibilities include preparation of courses and associated materials before start of course, preparation before each class, marking, student support, administration, and teaching-related meetings. Staff cite workload as the number one concern about their job (Houston et al., 2006; UCU, 2016; UCU, 2019). In the pre-92 sector there is no such national workload agreement.

Average weekly contact hours for staff in Russell Group universities were 8.1: Pre-92 universities 10.1; Post-92 universities 15.6 hours. Only 1 Russell Group university appeared to have staff teaching contact hours close to the new university average.

We also asked how many hours of taught contact students receive per week on average. All but 8 institutions provided students with, on average, 8-12 hours class contact time. Three institutions cited 14 hours. There did not appear to be appreciable differences across different sectors.

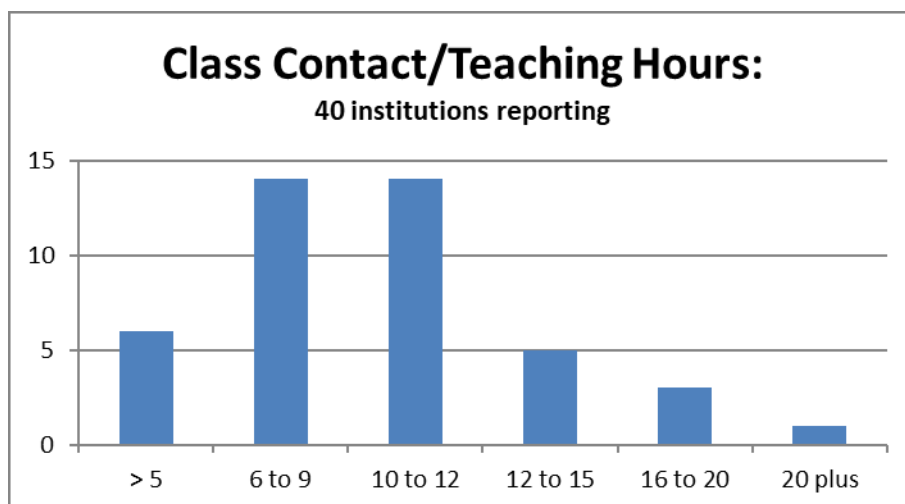


Chart 12 Class contact/teaching hours.

Strengths and unique selling points

We asked respondents to identify all aspects of strength and the unique selling points of their Criminology programmes. Prominent amongst the 'other' category were a diverse range of areas of criminology (29 topics mentioned, in addition to those referred to in the graph) and 'applied social science'. The most frequently referred to included: Critical criminology (n5); Drugs/Substance Misuse (n5); Feminist Criminology/Gender & Crime (n5); Global/Cross cultural/Cross Border criminology (n5); Research Methods (n4); Violence and conflict (including war, domestic, genocide) (n4); Green/Environmental criminologies (n4); Harm/Zemiology (n3). Four respondents referred to the importance of their placement or Work Based Learning options as a central feature of their programme.

			Response Percent
1	Penology	<div style="width: 53.06%;"></div>	53.06%
2	Victimology	<div style="width: 32.65%;"></div>	32.65%
3	Policing Studies	<div style="width: 46.94%;"></div>	46.94%
4	Forensics and Crime Scene Management	<div style="width: 14.29%;"></div>	14.29%
5	Investigative studies	<div style="width: 8.16%;"></div>	8.16%
6	Security Studies	<div style="width: 18.37%;"></div>	18.37%
7	Comparative criminology	<div style="width: 24.49%;"></div>	24.49%
8	Criminal psychology	<div style="width: 22.45%;"></div>	22.45%
9	Historical criminology	<div style="width: 16.33%;"></div>	16.33%
10	Youth and crime	<div style="width: 40.82%;"></div>	40.82%
11	Race and crime	<div style="width: 24.49%;"></div>	24.49%
12	Other (please specify)	<div style="width: 61.22%;"></div>	61.22%

Chart 13 Strengths and unique selling points of Criminology programmes.

Equally, the range of forms of assessment used by criminology staff was diverse (see below Chart 15). This is to be encouraged as pedagogic research suggests a diversity of assessment modes can encourage active learning (Chamberlain, 2015; Hayes, et al., 2014; OU, 2015). Peer and self-assessment can encourage several skills, such as reflection, critical thinking and self-awareness. Utilising assessment that makes use of technology can also teach students new skills. Gone are the days of the simple essay/exam assessment duality, although as elements in a mixed diet of assessments these forms still exist. To operate effectively in the 21st century, our criminal justice professionals of the future need a much more varied skill set.

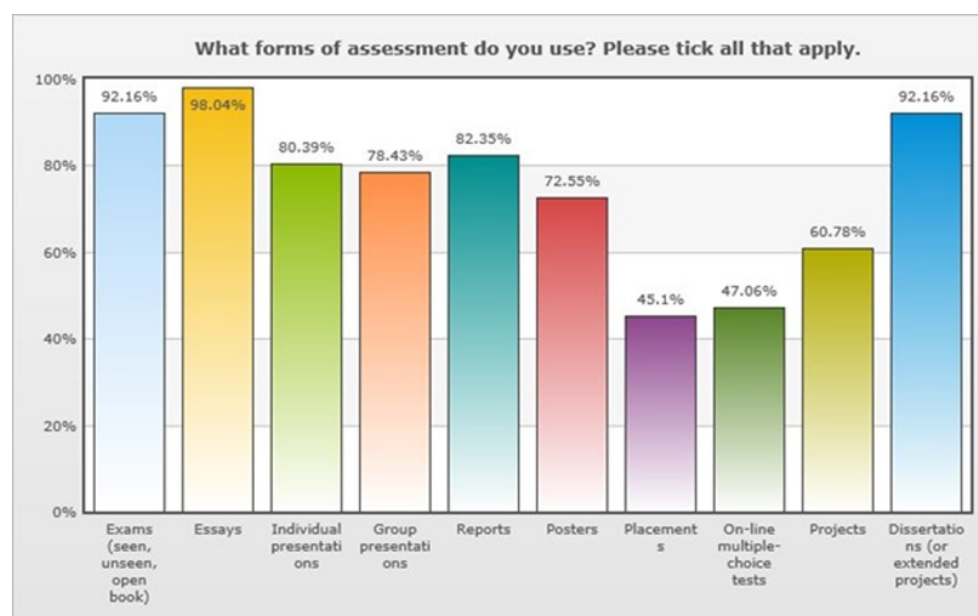


Chart 15 Forms of assessment

A wide range of alternative methods of assessment were identified. Whilst most respondents indicated the eight most common assessment methods (shown in the above table, along with 2 that scored just below 50%), there were others referred to: portfolios (eg. for collating placement activities), multi-media presentations, biographies, blogs, book reviews, class tests, reflective diaries, briefing papers and policy commentaries, debates, leaflets, and conference paper simulations.

Many of us will remember the feedback given on our own undergraduate assignments. Often handwritten – and sometimes illegible - the following responses clearly indicate the extent to which on-line marking and anonymised assessment has rapidly been established as the new norm for student feedback, alongside several more traditional methods. It may be interesting to reflect on how and why this came about, who advocated for it and what impact assessments were conducted on how long these assessments take. There is the issue of the availability of plagiarism detection software, but it seems unlikely that neither university staff (the markers) or students themselves, prompted this marking innovation which so totally now dominates assessment systems. One respondent made the point that, in the context

of mass higher education, the very last thing that universities needed was more remote feedback or anonymity.

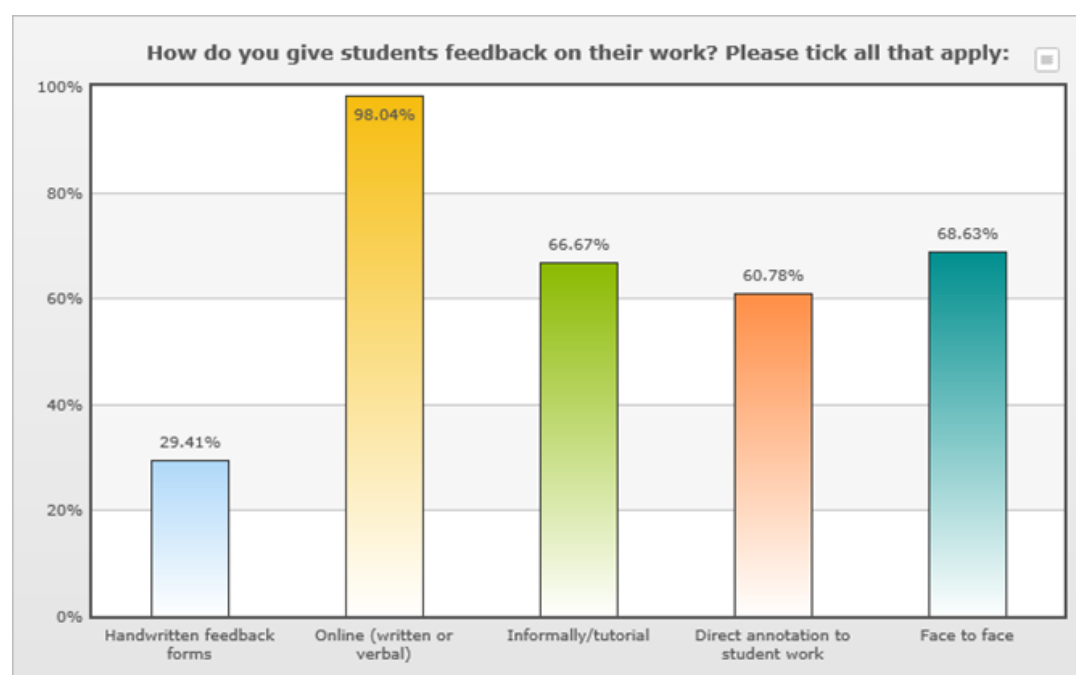


Chart 16 Delivery of feedback to students.

Employability and work-related activities

Just over a quarter of our respondents suggested that placement activities were available for all criminology students and 56% of respondents suggested that placement options were available to students *who wished to undertake them* (subject to certain selection processes). In around two-thirds of cases, the placement arrangements were formalised between academic departments/schools/divisions and criminal justice and partner agencies. Roughly a fifth of courses did not include placement activities within their undergraduate programme. Despite ongoing debates about instrumentality and the neo-liberal university, the survey did not specifically explore the education-employability link in any great detail and no substantial respondent comments addressed this so we can add little more at this stage. However, from other sources, we are aware of significant numbers of criminology students with interests in careers, for instance, in policing (and related employments) and have discussed these, such as the growth of Policing Studies and the Police Education Qualifications Framework, at the BSC Executive Committee on several occasions. It may be, if there are to be subsequent versions of this survey, that we will interrogate these issues further in the future.

Masters courses

Of the 30 HEIs in our sample which ran Masters programmes in Criminology (and criminology-related programmes) sixteen, or just over half, had targets to recruit no more than 20 students, seven institutions had Masters cohorts of between 21-50

students and seven had large programmes recruiting over 50 per year. The trend is toward growing numbers of Masters students.

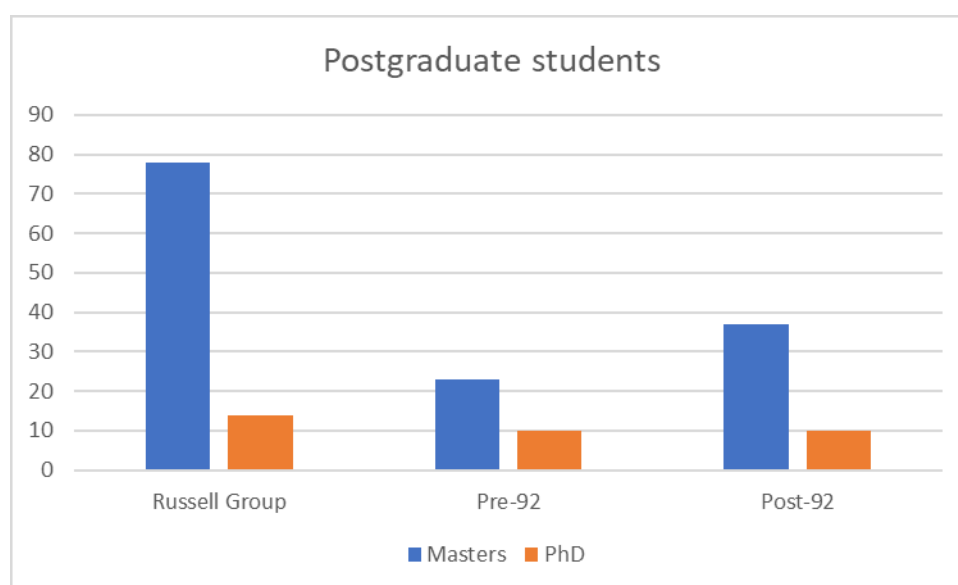


Chart 17 Mean number of postgraduate students per sector. Note: outlier data has been excluded.

Postgraduate changes

19.5% of respondents stated their department supervised Criminology PhD research students. The numbers ranged from 40 down to 2, although only 12 of the responding institutions had more than 10 current PhD students (4 Russell Group; 3 Pre-92; 5 Post-92). All sectors have seen a rise in the number of postgraduate students in the past five years.

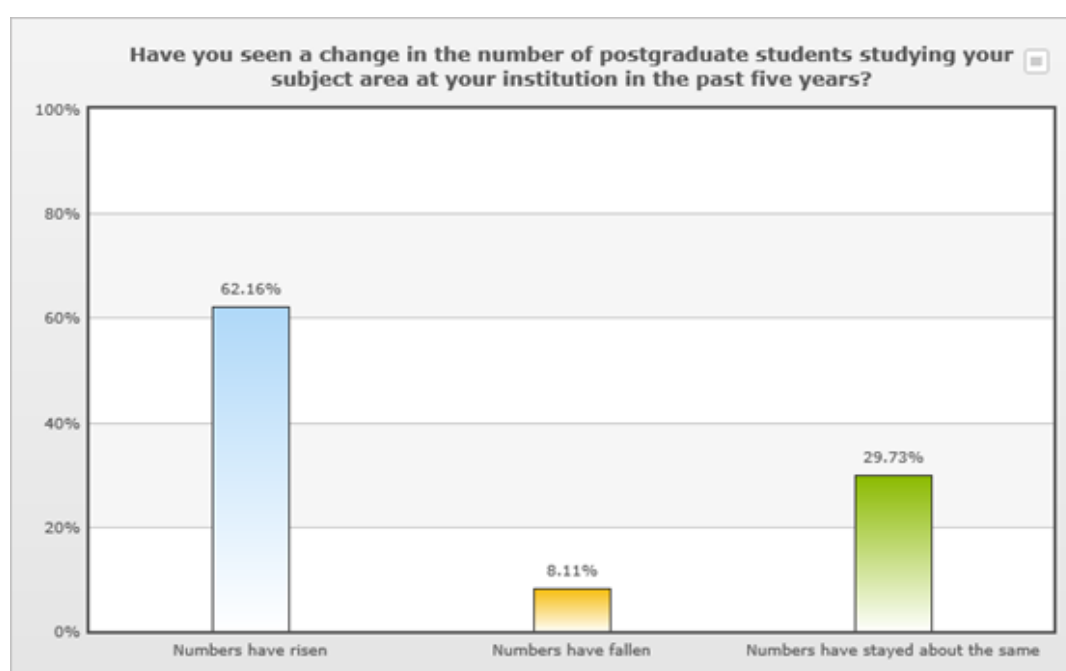


Chart 17 Number of postgraduate students in the past five years.

Post-graduate research students

The number of criminology post-grad research students supervised within criminology teams ranged from none to 30.

QAA benchmarks

The QAA subject benchmark statement establishes academic standards for criminology. The benchmarking working group for the 2014 statement included six members of the BSC Executive Committee. Benchmark statements provide general guidance for articulating learning outcomes and 'allow for flexibility and innovation in course design within a framework agreed by the subject community' (QAA, 2019). Reassuringly, 95% of Criminology course providers were aware of the current QAA Criminology benchmarks; of concern, perhaps, is the fact that 5% of respondents were not aware of them.

Very helpful - drew on them to develop the curriculum, ensure that all issues/topics/debates were covered/considered. (Identifier: 65519512)

These are essential for the validation and revalidation of our programmes. (Identifier: 72577572)

Fully, especially as we went through our programme review and revalidation late last year. (Identifier: 79963139)

Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF)

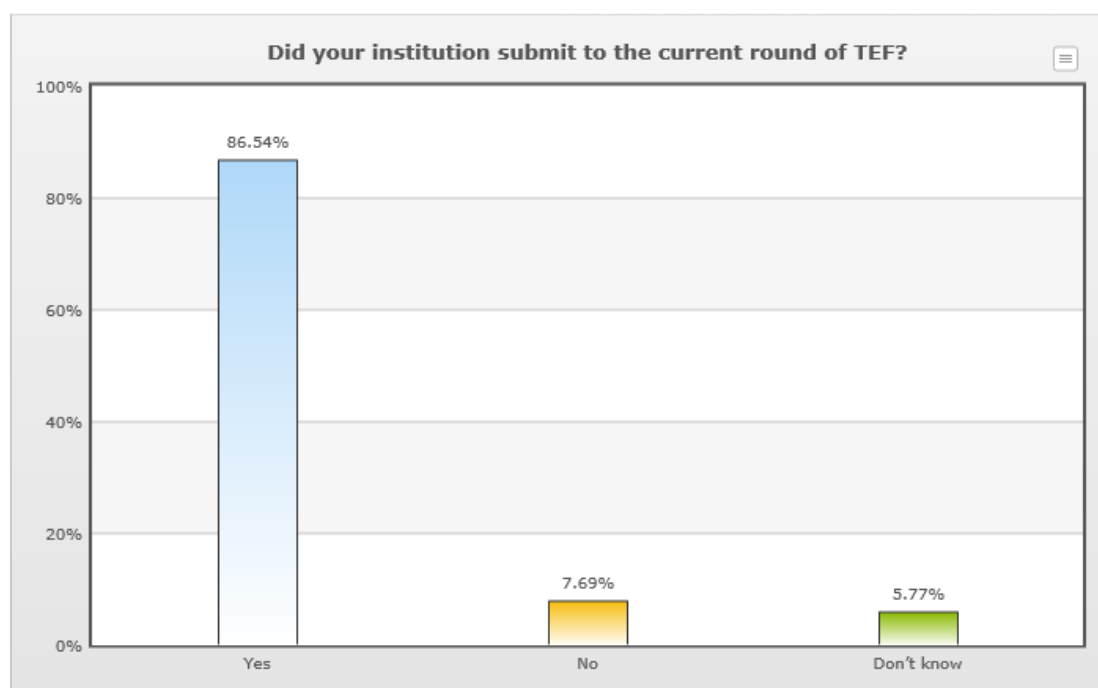


Chart 18 TEF submission.

The TEF (or Teaching Excellence Framework) rates universities as Gold, Silver or Bronze, in order of quality of teaching based on student outcomes, data on student satisfaction, employment destinations, and how many students continue their studies from one year to the next. The first results were published by the Office for Students in June 2017. This was considered a trial year (even though the non-provisional ratings awarded are valid for 3 years). Awards allow universities to charge slightly higher fees. Most institutions in our survey submitted to the current round of TEF. 40% of respondents would be interested in attending an event organised by the BSC exploring the implications of the TEF.

Section 3 - Research

Institutional organisation of research

We asked how research is organised. As the below chart shows, almost two-thirds of research activity is located in a research centre or less formal cluster of research active staff. The remainder is either project-based or individual. Far from being a minor subset of a department, the more typical picture of criminology that emerges is that research resides in centres with successful records of knowledge exchange, research production and engagement with non-academic research users. In these and other activities, criminology has a distinct identity working alongside criminal justice professionals, including the police, judiciary, youth justice, Crown Prosecution Service, probation and prison services, and the courts, as well as community organisations. Research by criminologists has influenced major policy debates, shaped legal reform and improved criminal justice practices, it has also challenged injustice, exposed corrupt and inefficient criminal justice institutions and, above all, sought to bring evidence to bear – light rather than heat – to all manner of controversies surrounding law and order.

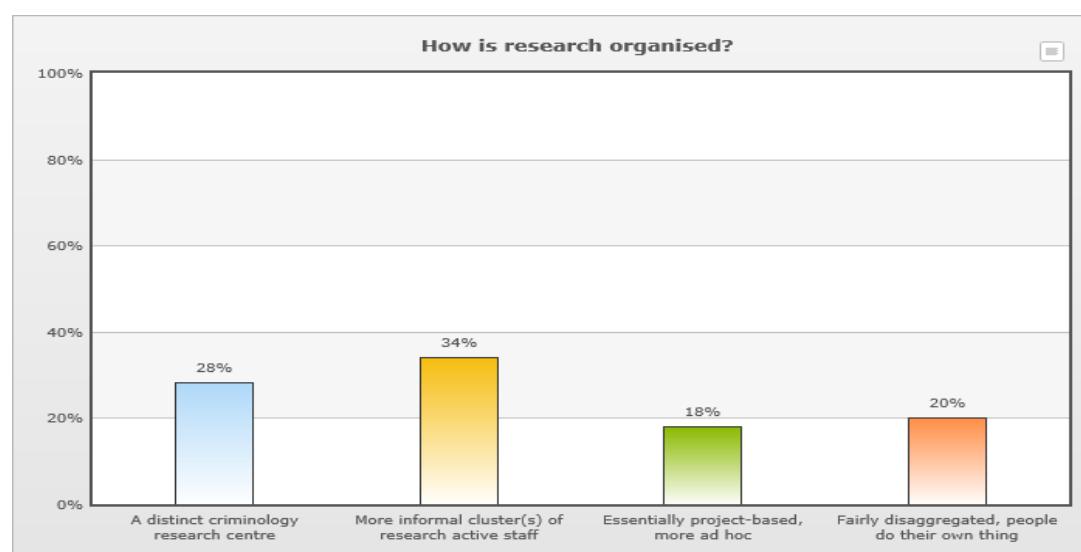


Chart 19 Organisation of research activity.

Funding

We asked about how research is primarily funded (or unfunded). We defined 'funded' as externally funded research e.g. ESRC, individual government department, local public body or charitable institutions etc ... Across the whole survey, a significant amount of research is designated 'unfunded' (see Chart 20).

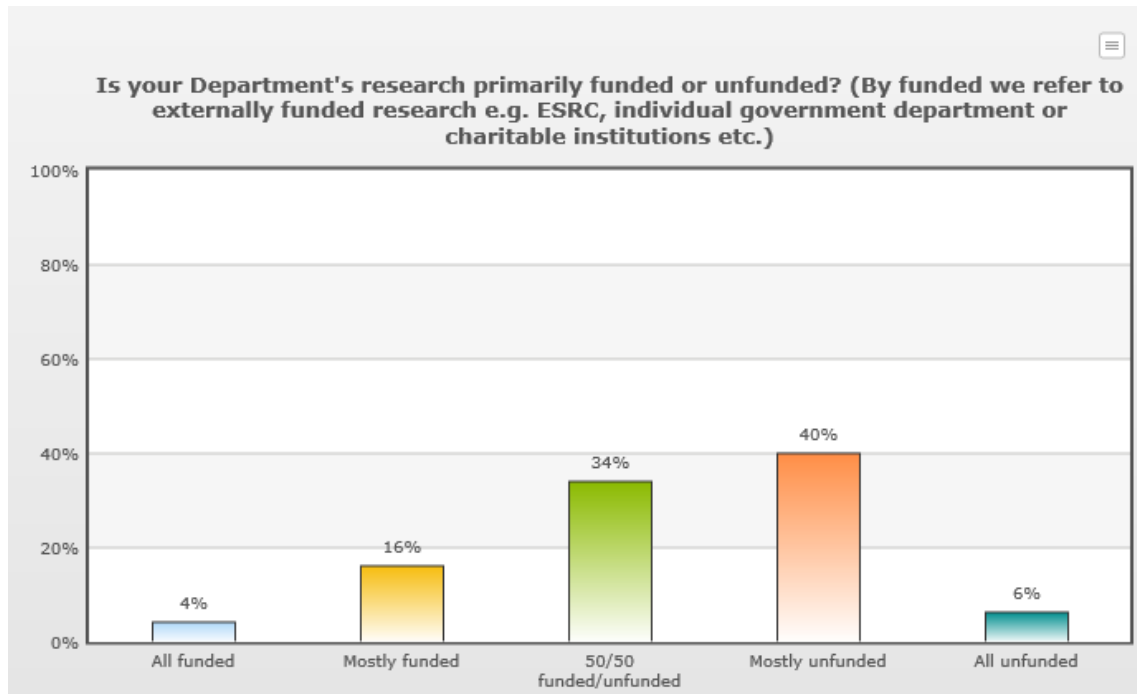


Chart 20 Research funding.

Distinguishing between sectors, a different picture emerges. Looking at the answers to this question by sector, it becomes clearer that while some post-92 universities receive research funding for criminology, a much larger percentage receive little or no funding. Of all responses to the survey, the most common comment is that there is not enough time for research due to pressures from increasing levels of teaching administration.

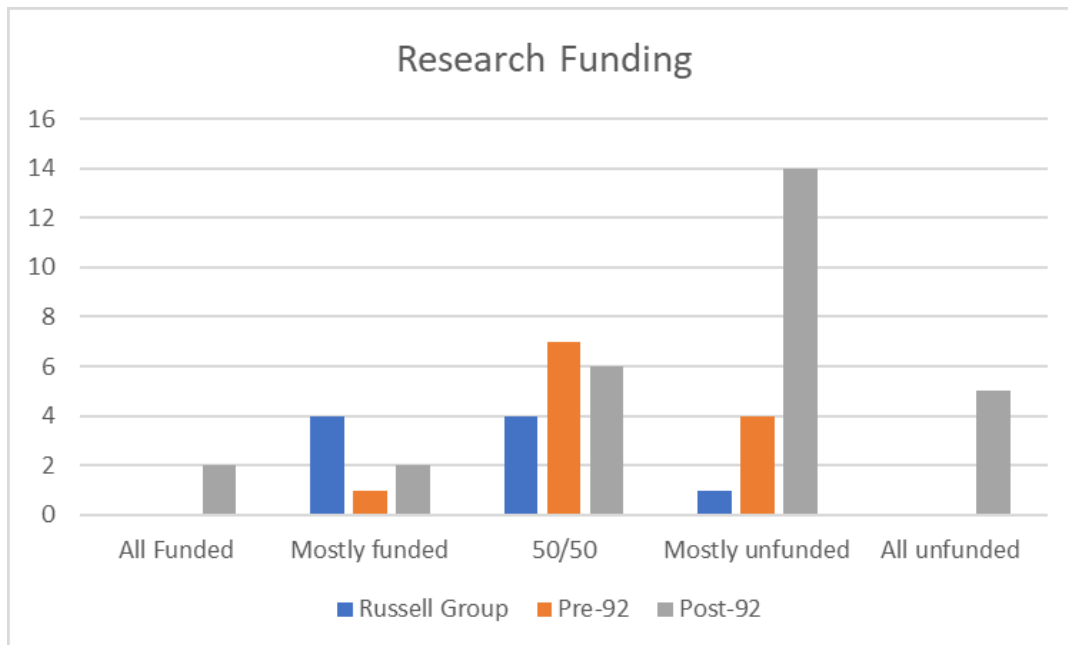


Chart 21 Research funding by institutional group.

The data in Charts 20 and 21 could certainly be taken as evidence of the Research Excellence Framework strategy having its *intended* effect of research funding concentration. In criminology, that concentration is occurring largely in Russell Group and Pre-92 institutions.

Datasets used

We asked about the datasets often used by criminology staff in their research and teaching. In the light of proposed cuts to the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW), formerly the British Crime Survey, it is pertinent to question the use of data.

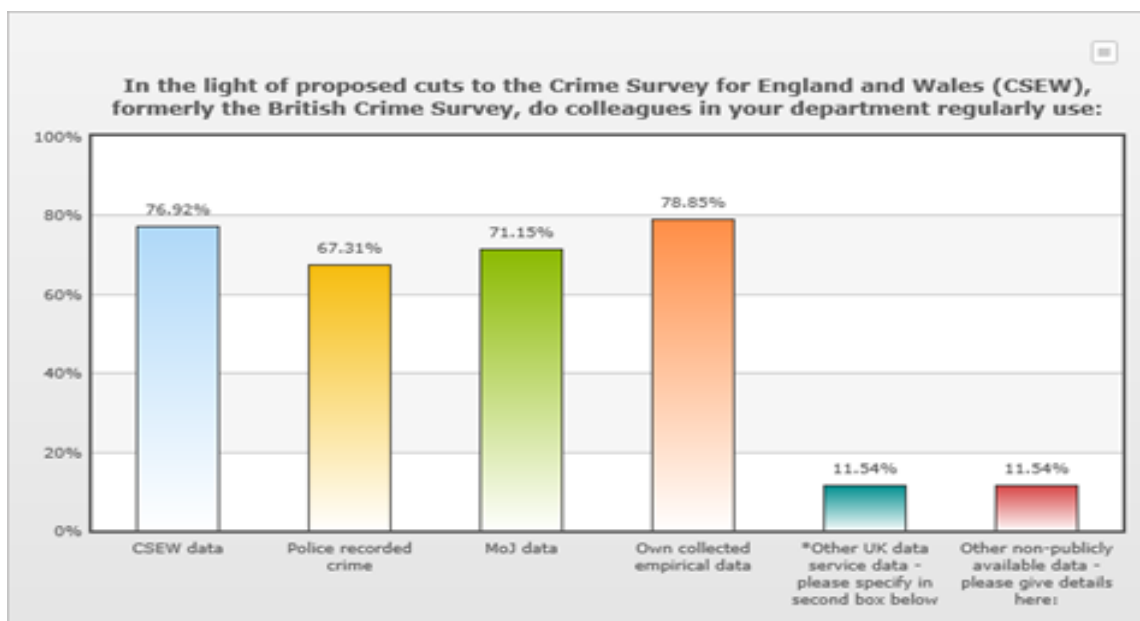


Chart 22 Use of Datasets.

REF2014 and REF2021

The REF was first carried out in 2014, replacing the previous Research Assessment Exercise. The REF is undertaken by the four UK higher education funding bodies: Research England, the Scottish Funding Council (SFC), the Higher Education Funding Council for Wales (HEFCW), and the Department for the Economy, Northern Ireland (DfE). The REF's declared aim is to:

secure the continuation of a world-class, dynamic and responsive research base across the full academic spectrum within UK higher education ... For each submission, three distinct elements are assessed: the quality of outputs (e.g. publications, performances, and exhibitions), their impact beyond academia, and the environment that supports research.

<https://www.ref.ac.uk/about/whatref/>

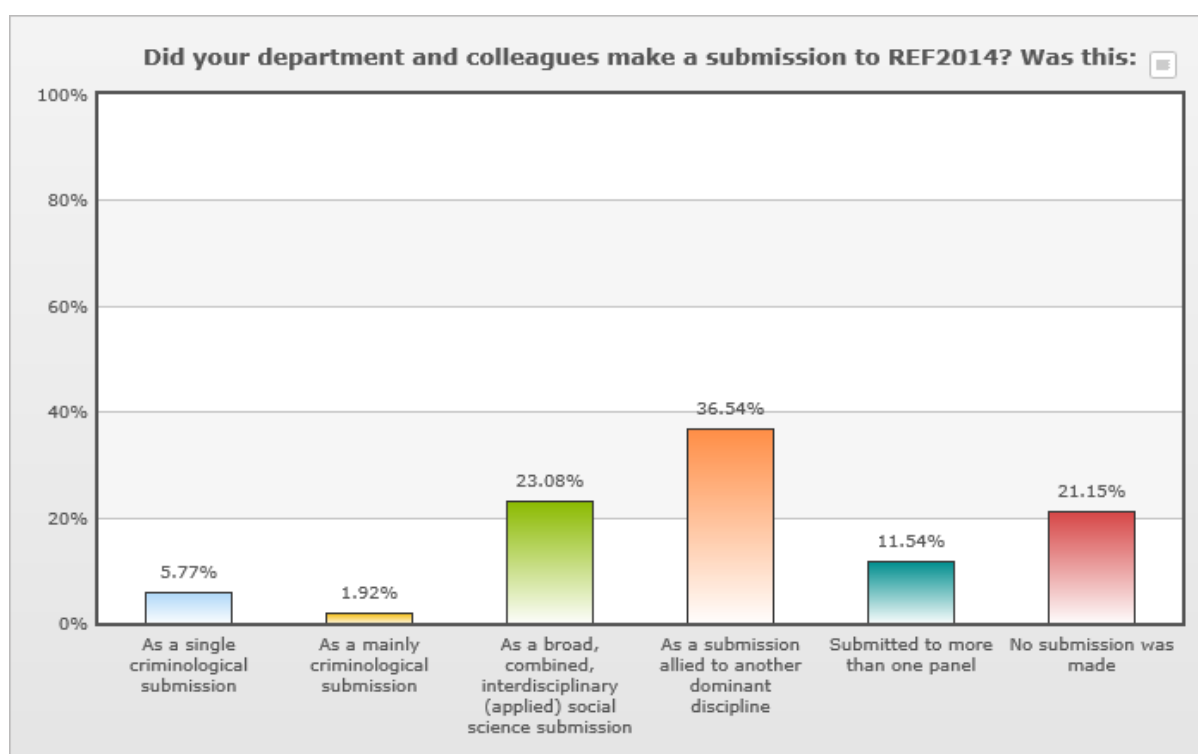


Chart 23 REF submissions.

When asked how the REF2014 submission was made, the majority of respondents indicated that theirs was made as part of a broad interdisciplinary social science submission or allied to another discipline. Criminology is not named in a Unit of Assessment (UoA) within the REF process even though it is a flourishing discipline, with a huge expansion in the post 1992s, and free text comments demonstrated that some members feel disaffected by the non-naming of criminology in an assessment panel within the REF. Being named in one UoA would not preclude submissions being made to other UoAs. It would however, help to counter the invisibility and fragmentation currently felt.

Criminology lends its methodological sophistication to other disciplines: ‘Outside the sub-field of criminology, relatively little quantitative social research was submitted, and some outputs presented data in an unsophisticated way’ (REF2014 Main Panel C Summary Report: p72). Criminology was therefore useful in demonstrating Impact: ‘with a preponderance of examples concerning criminal law reform, criminal justice policy and practice, and aspects of equality, human rights and civil liberties’ (ibid).

With the above issues in mind, we asked respondents to state to which REF2014 sub-panel(s) they submitted.

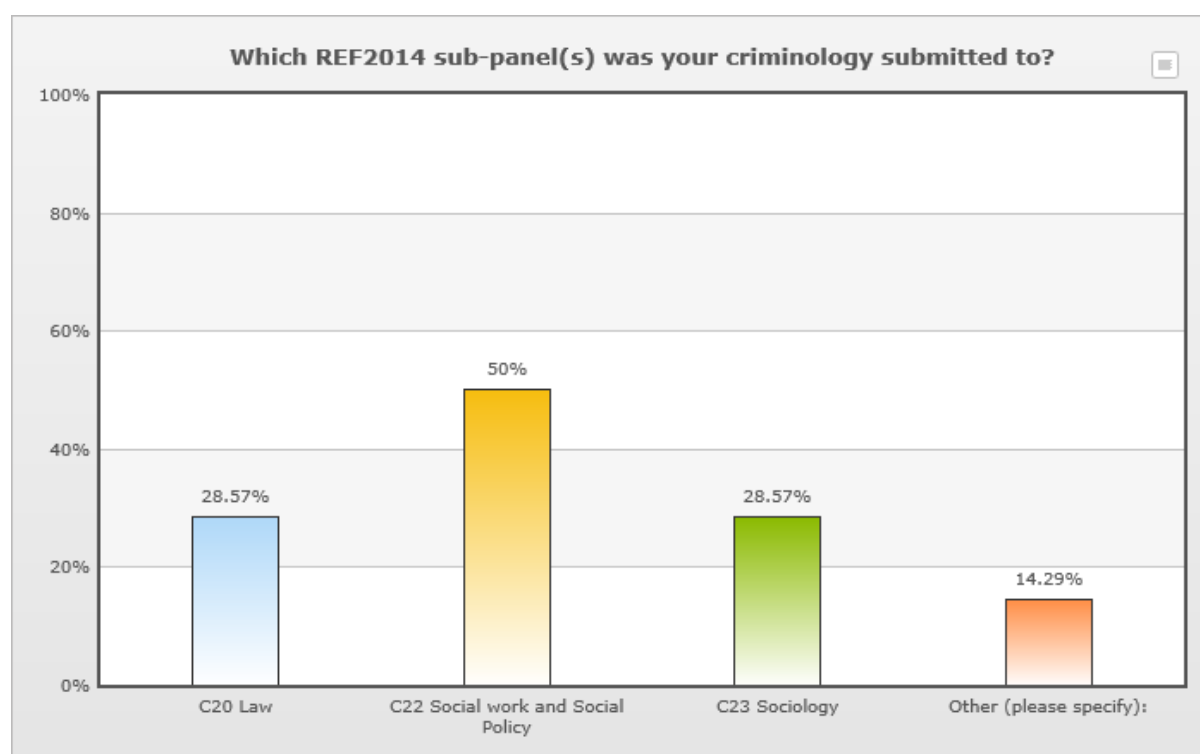


Chart 24 REF unit of assessment submissions.

The majority submitted to Social Work and Social Policy. When asked if the same UoA would be selected for REF2021 as in the previous REF there was a more mixed response from Pre-92 institutions with a much larger percentage of institutions taking the decision under review.

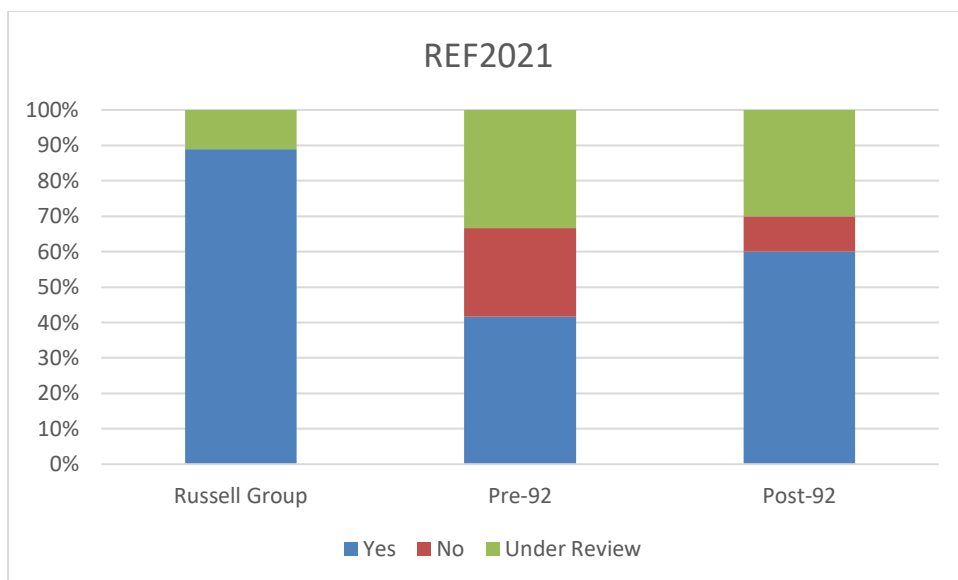


Chart 25 Possible future submissions.

When asked if individual members of staff – or teams – are given research, publication or income generation targets to meet, the majority of comments made reflected the following: ‘They are not targets but more expectations. They are certainly discussed as performance review meetings’ (Identifier: 79829001) and, ‘except in the most general terms...with encouragement, through appraisals’ (Identifier: 83509164).

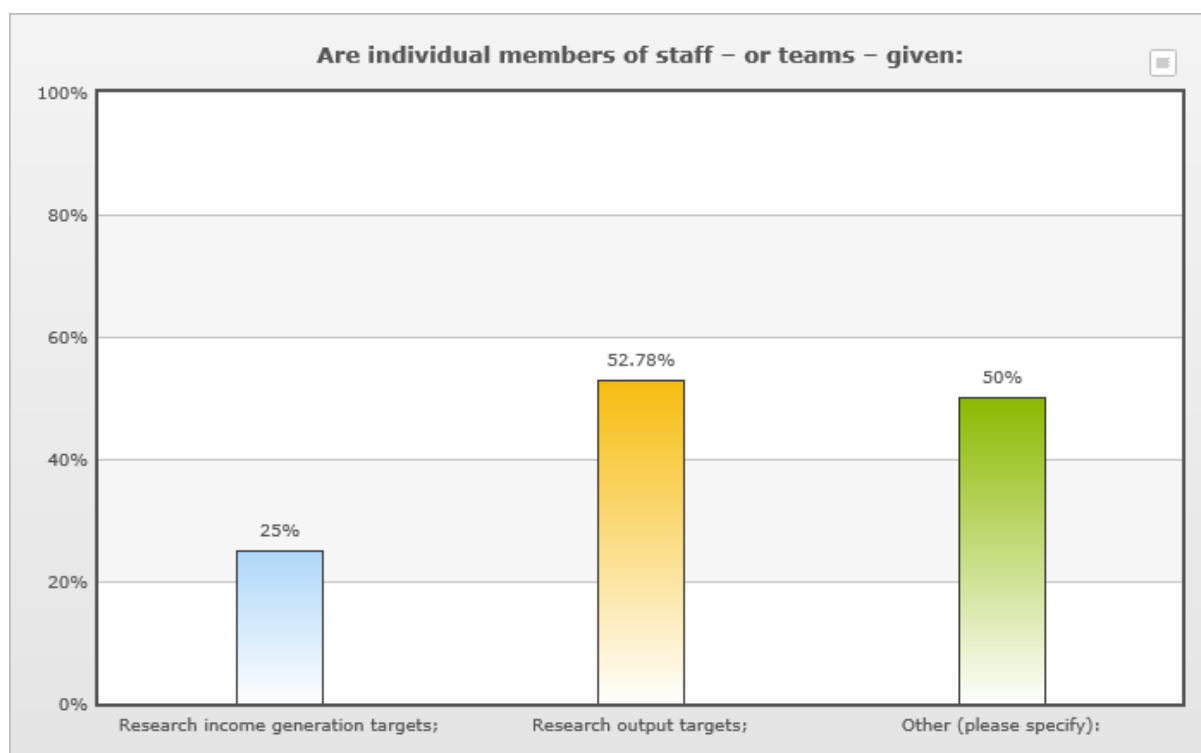


Chart 26 Research targets.

Other issues

Finally, we asked if there were any other issues connected to the teaching and/or researching of criminology not covered in the survey that were of concern to respondents. Eighteen people chose to respond, and their comments were broadly illustrative of two viewpoints, one concerned about criminology losing its interdisciplinarity, and the other which argues the time is now right for the wider academy to see criminology as a discipline in its own right. Messages from the criminology community also include a clearly-held perception that criminology should now be recognised as an established discipline (by bodies such as REF and HESA) whilst retaining its interdisciplinary flexibility.

Generally, I think criminology is in fairly good health. Student demand seems to remain buoyant (even while other subjects have struggled). Research funding is still available (albeit very competitive). There are a host of other initiatives (conferences, networks, projects etc) that make me optimistic about the future of criminology. I do, however, remain concerned that, as criminology becomes increasingly recognised as a viable subject in its own rights, its ties to other disciplines will weaken. To me, criminology has always been a multi-disciplinary subject and much of its strength and insight comes from the sort of 'big tent' approach that has been fostered over several decades. I think care needs to be taken to ensure that the success of criminology becoming more established within the academy, does not lead us to reduce ties to other disciplines. Ultimately, this will weaken criminology significantly. (Identifier: 73145689)

It's a real worry that there isn't a specific criminology panel for REF2020/21 - this is a huge mistake and means that our work will be dissipated across various other panels - probably law, sociology, social policy. (Identifier: 80180714)

A growing concern lately has been the disparity between a BPS accredited Psychology programme - including the joint honours Psychology & Criminology degree course - in which psychology staff are pegged to a staff student ratio (SSR) of 1:20, whereas Criminology is working at an SSR of 1:35. No account of this is taken in research resource allocations. Our school makes the largest top-slice contribution from its student fees income to the general university budget (around 64%), this makes us a real cash cow for the university, with recruitment targets rising almost every year (around clearing time) to offset student recruitment shortfalls elsewhere. (Identifier: 83207367)

Summary and closing comments

As the results from this survey have shown, there are differences within the experiences of criminologists – SSRs and research funding are key - but crucially that there is a large degree of similarity between the three identified sectors (Russell

Group, Pre- and Post-92). Large research centres with plenty of staff and well-funded research face many of the same demands and pressures as smaller clusters and individuals, because we have more in common with each other than with other disciplines, for example, including the greater pastoral needs of criminology students. For many, the criminology career journey is characterised by such demands. Criminology does share with other social science disciplines its strengths in public engagement, commitment to impact and the transferability of skills while still struggling by being segmented within disciplines and institutional departments and, not least, in the REF.

Not all institutions gave a response despite numerous generalised and personalised reminders. Some people were overworked, others felt their criminology unit was very small – some just never replied. Only one refused directly because of the length and timing of the survey and concerns about how the survey was presented and the data might be used. The Society wants to address these concerns and to continue to seek answers to the key issues: for example, questions of career trajectory, satisfaction with place of work and degrees of professional autonomy, pastoral and other hidden demands, knowledge and attendance at BSC Regional and Network events, emerging areas of research, proportions of ‘service’ activity to other subjects – i.e. volunteering and providing free expertise. It is vital that we can secure buy-in from colleagues in these institutions in future years so that future surveys will allow us to build a better picture of our subject. What we can see clearly already is that some institutions receive little funding for important research while managing ever-increasing numbers of students (under- and post-graduates). And a great deal of this research goes on, largely unfunded, by virtue of the personal and political interests and commitments of staff – not to mention their good will and enthusiasm.

Criminology has (de facto) reached the status of a discipline and there is excellence in both teaching and research. Whilst earlier generations of researchers kept topics separate by erecting disciplinary walls, criminology celebrates its interdisciplinary flexibility and subverts traditional disciplinary spaces. But how long do we have to keep claiming legitimacy? If one of the defining characteristics of a discipline is the presence of a community of scholars, then the BSC stands at the heart of the discipline of criminology.

Looking at the journey travelled by criminology since 1988 when Paul Rock reported, we clearly face a different set of pressures in 2019. In 1988, reflecting upon the evolution of criminology, springing from the radicalism of 1960s-1970s social science, especially sociology, Rock rather disappointedly noted that ‘criminology’ had since been ‘joined by a younger generation of professional criminologists with empirical leanings ... the work that is being done is marked by a decelerating rate of innovation, a drift towards normal science and a new pragmatism’ (Rock, 1988: 68). Yet whatever else might be said of criminology today ‘empiricism’, ‘decelerating innovation’ and a ‘drift to pragmatism’ are certainly not the issues. On the contrary, in the newer, Post-92 institutions where criminology has grown fastest, this growth has

been accompanied by a flourishing array of new specialisms and perspectives (questions of culture, identity, harm and environment; post-colonial and border studies; critical race perspectives) which have enriched and broadened the criminological curriculum. Of course, this has opened up another issue - of criminology becoming a victim of its own success, a 'cash cow' for cash-strapped universities who will pile high and teach cheap thereby endangering the very inventiveness (to mix metaphors, killing the goose that laid the golden eggs) which has made criminology attractive to the newer generations of students. This is subject to actual decisions arising from the recent Post-18 Education funding review (Independent Panel, 2019) which may well undermine criminology's financial attractiveness to universities.

On the other side, the REF's prioritisation of research impact and the research resource concentration phenomenon have tied some of the most established criminology centres, often located in law schools, to a particular 'institutional' or 'administrative' conception of criminology. Rock appeared to recognise this in 1988 when he spoke of 'a new and complicated web of dependencies and connections ... the persistence of conventional sponsorship and the emergence of novel, somewhat unorthodox patrons with money and power' (Rock, 1988: 68). It is not likely that the particular dilemmas of criminology will find any solution while university funding remains so essentially uncertain, but grasping the political economy that presently divides, submerges or renders criminology simply invisible remains fundamental. If our survey can begin the process of helping us understand the context in which criminology operates, it can hopefully help us, and help the BSC, to develop a better strategic approach to our situation.

At the time this survey was completed Charlotte Harris was Executive Director, Helen Jones was Communications and Membership Coordinator, and Peter Squires President of the British Society of Criminology'.

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ADVANCE NOTICE

BRITISH SOCIETY OF CRIMINOLOGY CONFERENCE 2020

8-10 July 2020

(with a postgraduate event commencing on July 7 2020)

The University of Liverpool

Criminology in an Age of Global Injustice(s)

Confirmed keynote/plenary speakers (further announcements to follow):

- **Professor Kerry Carrington** (Queensland University of Technology)
- **Professor Lesley McAra** (University of Edinburgh and President of the ESC)
- **Professor Setsuo Miyazawa** (University of California and President of the Asian Criminological Society)
- **Professor Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
- **Professor Sally Simpson** (University of Maryland and President Elect of the ASC)
- **Professor Richard Sparks** (University of Edinburgh)
- **Professor Sandra Walklate** (University of Liverpool and President of the BSC)

For full details of registration and abstract submission please see here:

<https://www.britsoccrim.org/conference/>